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ABSTRACT

This report describes patterns of racial enrollment and segregation in U.S. public schools at the national, regional, state, and district levels using the 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data. Trends in desegregation and resegregation over the last one-third century are also examined. Whites are the most segregated group, attending schools that are, on average, 80 percent white. Schools are becoming steadily more nonwhite as minority enrollment approaches 40 percent of all students. The most dramatic growth is among Latino and Asian students. Latinos are the most segregated, and Asians the most integrated, racial group. A substantial group of virtually all nonwhite schools have emerged. The nation's largest city school systems account for a shrinking share of the total enrollment and are overwhelmingly nonwhite and increasingly segregated. The balkanization of school districts and difficulty of creating desegregated schools within these cities show the major consequences of the Supreme Court's 1974 Miliken v. Bradley decision blocking Detroit's city-suburban desegregation. Segregation and desegregation are no longer merely urban concerns, but wider metropolitan issues. During the 1990s, the proportion of black students in majority white schools decreased by 13 percentage points to a level lower than any year since 1968. (SM)

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A Multiracial Society with Segregated Schools: Are We Losing the Dream?

By Erica Frankenberg, Chungmei Lee, and Gary Orfield

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, American public schools are now twelve years into the process of continuous resegregation. The desegregation of black students, which increased continuously from the 1950s to the late 1980s, has now receded to levels not seen in three decades. Although the South remains the nation's most integrated region for both blacks and whites, it is the region that is most rapidly going backwards as the courts terminate many major and successful desegregation orders.

This report describes patterns of racial enrollment and segregation in American public schools at the national, regional, state, and district levels for students of all racial groups. Our analysis of the status of school desegregation in 2000 uses the NCES Common Core of Data for 2000-01, which contains data submitted by virtually all U.S. schools to the Department of Education. Additionally, this report examines trends in desegregation and, now, resegregation over the last one-third century.

Key findings of the study include:

- The statistics from the 2000-2001 school year show that whites are the most segregated group in the nation's public schools; they attend schools, on average, where eighty percent of the student body is white. The two regions where white students are more likely to attend substantially interracial schools are the South and West. Whites attending private schools are even more segregated than their public school counterparts.

- Our schools are becoming steadily more nonwhite, as the minority student enrollment approaches 40% of all U.S. public school students, nearly twice the share of minority school students during the 1960s. In the West and the South, almost half of all public school students are nonwhite.

- The most dramatic growth is seen in the increase of Latino and Asian students. Latino students are the most segregated minority group, with steadily rising segregation since federal data were first collected a third of a century ago. Latinos are segregated both by race and poverty, and a pattern of linguistic segregation is also developing. Latinos have by far the highest high school dropout rates.

- Conversely, at the aggregate level, Asians live in the nation's most integrated communities, are the most integrated in schools, and experience less linguistic segregation than Latinos.[1] Asians are the nation's most highly educated racial group; the rate of college graduation for Asians is almost double the national average and four times larger than Latinos.

[1] Due to data limitations, it is impossible to separate subgroups of Asians based on national origin, which masks important differences among these groups.

- The data show the emergence of a substantial group of American schools that are virtually all non-white, which we call apartheid schools. These schools educate one-sixth of the nation's black students and one-fourth of black students in the Northeast and Midwest. These are often schools where enormous poverty, limited resources, and social and health problems of many types are concentrated. One ninth of Latino students attend schools where 99-100% of the student body is composed of minority students.

- Paralleling housing patterns from the 2000 Census, this study shows a very rapid increase in the number of multiracial schools where at least one tenth of the students are from three different racial groups. Three-fourths of Asian students attend multiracial schools, but only 14% of white students do.

- The nation's largest city school systems account for a shrinking share of the total enrollment and are, almost without exception, overwhelmingly nonwhite and increasingly segregated internally. These twenty-seven largest urban systems have lost the vast majority of their white enrollment whether or not they ever had significant desegregation plans, and today serve almost one-quarter of our black and Latino student population.

- The balkanization of school districts and the difficulty of creating desegregated schools within these cities show the huge consequences of the Supreme Court's 1974 *Milliken v. Bradley* decision[2] blocking city-suburban desegregation in metropolitan Detroit. According to one recent study, metropolitan Detroit schools were extremely segregated in 1994 and had the highest level of between-district segregation of all metro areas in the country.[3]

- In 1967 the nation's largest suburban systems were virtually all white. Despite a huge increase in minority students in suburban school districts, serious patterns of segregation have emerged in some sectors of suburbia as this transition takes place. Many of the most rapidly resegregating school systems since the mid-1980s are suburban. Clearly segregation and desegregation are no longer merely urban concerns, but wider metropolitan issues.

- The largest countywide school districts that contain both city and suburban schools are mostly concentrated in Southern states. These districts, with about half the enrollment of the big cities, had far more extensive and long-lasting desegregation and far more opportunity for minority students to cross both race and class barriers for their education.

- Many of the nation's decisions as the courts have been changed from being on the leading edge of desegregation activity to being its greatest obstacle. Since the

[3] Clotfelter, C. (1998). "Public School Segregation in Metropolitan Areas." NBER Working Paper 6779.

Supreme Court changed desegregation law in three major decisions between 1991 and 1995,[4] the momentum of desegregation for black students has clearly reversed in the South, where the movement had by far its greatest success.

- During the 1990s, the proportion of black students in majority white schools has decreased by 13 percentage points, to a level lower than any year since 1968.

Desegregation has been a substantial accomplishment and is linked to important gains for both minority and white students. Just as more and more convincing evidence of those gains is accumulating, school systems are actually being ordered to end successful desegregation plans they would prefer to continue. This is not driven by public opinion, which has become more supportive of desegregated schools (most of which have been achieved through choice mechanisms in the past two decades). The persisting high levels of residential segregation for blacks and increasing levels for Latinos reported in the 2000 Census indicate that desegregated education will not happen without plans that make it happen. We recommend a set of policies that would slow and eventually reverse the trends reported here.

Race matters strongly and segregation is a failed educational policy. Any policy framework must explicitly recognize the importance of integrated education not only as a basic education goal but also as a compelling societal interest. Specific policies to address this include:

- Continuing desegregation plans;
- Amending transfer policies in the federal No Child Left Behind Act to give students a real choice of better integrated schools;
- Encouraging educational choice plans that diminish segregation;
- Linking housing mobility programs with educational counseling; and
- Increasing city-suburban transfer options in metropolitan areas.

A great deal of long-lasting progress was achieved when this issue was last seriously addressed, a third of a century ago. If we are not to lose those gains and if we are to be ready for a profoundly multiracial society with no racial majority, we must begin to face the trends documented here and devise solutions that will work now.

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[4] *Board of Education of Oklahoma v. Dowell*, 498 U.S. 237(1991); *Freeman v. Pitts*, 503 U.S. 467 (1992); and *Missouri v. Jenkins*, 115 S. Ct. 2038 (1995).

HAS MARTIN LUTHER KING'S DREAM BECOME A NIGHTMARE?

When we celebrate Martin Luther King Day, students in schools where there are no whites and almost everyone is poor enough to get a free lunch – the very kind of schools Dr. King fought to eliminate – will be reciting the "I have a dream" speech. In these immortal words, King told of his dreams of integration, that "One day, right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers."[1]

Four years earlier, King spoke to 20,000 students protesting for integration in Washington, hailing them as the "generation of integration" and calling for "total integration and total equality now."[2] Writing for a religious publication, King spoke of the "ultimate tragedy" of segregation:

> It injures one spiritually. It scars the soul and distorts the personality. It inflicts the segregator with a false sense of superiority while inflicting the segregated with a false sense of inferiority.[3]

King saw the Supreme Court's decision against segregated education as a critical event: "The United States Supreme Court decision of 1954 was viewed by Negroes as the delivery of part of the promise of change. In unequivocal language the Court affirmed that 'separate but equal' facilities are inherently unequal, and that to segregate a student on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law. This decision brought hope to millions of disinherited Negroes.... But the implementation of the decision was not to be realized without a sharp and difficult struggle."[4]

King advocated going beyond mere desegregation. He accepted the critique of those who said that merely getting the students into the same building was not enough. "Desegregation," he wrote, " ... simply removes these legal and social prohibitions. Integration is creative, and is therefore more profound and far reaching.... Integration is the positive acceptance of desegregation and the welcomed participation of Negroes into the total range of human activities."[5] His solution was not to abandon desegregation but to deepen it.

When protests against school segregation in Northern cities surged in the mid-1960s, King praised those running school boycotts and demonstrations for "trying to loosen the manacles of the ghetto from the hands of their children."[6] He spoke out in school integration protests in Chicago, where he led his last large movement, the Chicago

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[1] Martin Luther King, Jr. "I Have a Dream" speech. Washington, D.C. August 1963.
[2] "Speech before the Youth March for Integrated Schools," in James B., Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, San Francisco: Harper San Francisco: 1991, p. 21.
[3] Ibid, "The Current Crisis in Race Relations," p. 85.
[4] Ibid, "The Burning Truth in the South," p. 95.
[5] Ibid, "The Ethical Demands for Integration," p.118.
[6] Ralph, Jr., J.R. (1993). *Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago, and the Civil Rights Movement.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 31.

Freedom Movement. In his speeches, he often described the inferior quality and dehumanizing aspects of slum schools, comparing them to the privileges of white schools.

The Civil Rights movement and the federal government's response lead to the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the beginning of much more serious enforcement of civil rights law. Before the Act was passed, the federal government had no power to enforce school desegregation. After its passage, the government was legally required to take action against any school district not complying with civil rights law. Education officials were given authority to cut off all aid funds, and the Department of Justice was authorized to file civil rights cases in federal court. The enforcement of that law and the Supreme Court's decisions in the late 1960s and early 1970s greatly tightened desegregation requirements. Educationally, the South moved from virtual apartheid in the early 1960s to become the nation's most integrated region.[7]

King was assassinated in 1968. The civil rights movement split and its momentum diminished. In 1969, President Nixon, whose "Southern strategy" to win the 1968 presidential election included a campaign against desegregation orders, ended enforcement of the 1964 law in the schools.[8] Further, Congress drastically cut back desegregation enforcement power in the 1975 Eagleton-Biden amendment when President Carter threatened to resume serious enforcement of the law.[9] By 1974, a Supreme Court reshaped by four Nixon appointments had rejected metropolitan desegregation as well as financial equalization of schools, and the expansion of desegregation law was ended.[10] Later, in the 1980s, President Reagan would name as Chief Justice the most consistent opponent of desegregation on the Supreme Court, William Rehnquist.[11]

The progress of King's dream was clearly regressing. When King appealed for integration in Alabama in 1963, the Alabama public schools were still totally segregated nine years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. That fall, Governor George Wallace would try to block the first black students to enroll in any white school in his state. Five years later Wallace would be running for President as a segregationist and the GOP candidate, Richard Nixon, would adopt much of his platform.[12] Alabama, however, did desegregate to a considerable degree. In fact, by 1980 there were 38% whites in the

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[7] See discussion of black segregation in the South *infra*, Table 10.

[8] He was later found to be openly violating the 1964 Civil Rights Act and was ordered by a federal court to resume enforcement. Orfield, G. and Eaton, S. (1996). *Dismantling Desegregation. The Quiet Reversal of* Brown v. Board of Education. New York: The New Press.

[9] Orfield, G. (1978). *Must We Bus? Segregated Schools and National Policy*. Washington: Brookings Institute.

[10] Orfield and Eaton, supra note 8.

[11] Rehnquist had been a clerk on the Supreme Court when *Brown* was decided and had written a memo recommending that the "separate but equal" provision from the 1896 *Plessy* decision be retained. Later, he claimed that this was just the opinion of the Justice, but President Nixon's Counsel, John Dean, who supervised the appointment, said he was convinced Rehnquist was lying. (Dean, J.W. (2001). *The Rehnquist Choice*. New York: The Free Press.) As a justice, Rehnquist strongly opposed much of school desegregation law and consistently voted to limit desegregation. (Davis, S. (1989). *Justice Rehnquist and the Constitution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 58-60.)

[12] Panetta, L., and Gall, P. (1971). *Bring Us Together*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

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school of the average black student, much higher levels of integration than, for example, New York State or even the North as a whole. By 2000, however, the dream was fading in Alabama, with the white percentage in the average black student's school falling to 30%. In Birmingham, where King's marchers had peacefully faced police dogs and fire hoses in the 1963 demonstrations that triggered the March on Washington and the Civil Rights Act, black students in 2000 attended schools with an average of 2% whites.

In King's home state of Georgia the pattern was very similar to Alabama, with a decrease in black exposure to white students from 39% in 1980 to 31% in 2000. The typical black student in Atlanta, King's city, was in a school with only 3% whites in 2000, a generation after the Supreme Court summarily rejected an effort to merge Atlanta and suburban schools in spite of proof that the housing and many aspects of the metropolitan area's racial development had been intentionally segregated for generations.[13] Chicago, where King's last campaign targeted urban segregation with very limited success, never desegregated. The federal government backed off enforcing desegregation in Chicago even at the height of the Civil Rights era.[14] In the 2000-2001 school year, there were only 3% white students in the school of the typical black student. Further, the percentage of white students even enrolled in these districts is very low: Chicago had only 9.6% white students, Birmingham 2.8%, and Atlanta 6.8% white students.

Although each of these cities had a clear history of intentional segregation of schools, and each had a powerful connection with Martin Luther King, each was only a few percentage points from an experience of total apartheid for Black students nearly a half century after the Supreme Court found segregated schools to be "inherently unequal."[15]

WAS THE DREAM WRONG?

Common responses to school desegregation issues are that it was a good idea that didn't work, it was tried but it just drove out the whites, or it didn't solve the educational problems plaguing the schools it was intended to benefit. Some critics go so far as to say that it led to more racial polarization. In the early 1980s, the National Institute of Education and the Ford Foundation supported a major effort by leading national scholars to summarize the existing knowledge on desegregation, leading to the publication of the classic book, *Strategies for Effective Desegregation*. The panel identified what was emerging as a new misguided "mythology" about desegregation:

1) Desegregation didn't reduce racial isolation, but has increased racial separation and white flight.

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[13] Armor v. Nix, 446. U.S. 930 (1980), for a description of the background of the case and the findings of the trial court, see Gary Orfield and Carole Ashkinaze, (1991). *The Closing Door: Conservative Policy and Black Opportunity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 5.

[14] Orfield, G. (1969). *The Reconstruction of Southern Education: The Schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act*. New York: Wiley-Interscience, chapter 4.

[15] *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

2) Mandatory plans (such as busing) aren't necessary to achieve desegregation, but it can instead be accomplished with voluntary plans.
3) Desegregation is disruptive to schools and lowers the educational quality. It also leads to interracial strife, which actually increases racial prejudice.
4) Desegregation also creates discord at the community level in terms of race relations and support for public schools.

The experts concluded, however, "the new mythology does not jibe with available evidence of science research."[16] For example, countering the first claim, analysis showed that by 1981 there was no school system that was more segregated at that time than before desegregation was ordered.[17] As this report will show, there have been very significant increases in segregation following the ending of desegregation plans. The highest levels of long-term desegregation and some of the lowest levels of "white flight" were recorded in metropolitan districts with very extensive mandatory city-suburban desegregation orders, though those tended to become increasingly choice driven over time.[18] There was a major decline in the racial achievement gap that coincided with the desegregation era, but the gap began to grow again in the 1990s.[19] There is clear evidence that racial attitudes became far more positive in the desegregation era and that these changes were particularly dramatic in the South where enforcement was most rigorous.[20]

Since the Ford panel's work during the early 1980s there are other myths that have become widespread, including the idea that school officials now know how to make segregated schools equal, that transferring dollars to schools will be as effective as desegregation, that whites will return to urban school districts if neighborhood schools are reinstated, and that parental participation will increase in neighborhood schools. In fact, there is not proof that any district has produced resegregated schools that are equal. Evidence on the government's largest compensatory program, Title I, shows that it tends to be the least effective in concentrated poverty schools, which are often segregated minority schools, as this report will show. Likewise, parental participation did not increase in Oklahoma City, the first district approved for resegregation by the Supreme Court, or in Norfolk, Virginia, the first district that was allowed to terminate a federal desegregation plan before the Supreme Court's 1990s decisions.[21]

King and many civil rights leaders believed that desegregated schools would be better for minority students and would be very important in helping Americans of all races to move beyond stereotypes toward genuine equality and respect—toward

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[16] Hawley, W., et.al. (1983). *Strategies for Effective School Desegregation.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, p.2.
[17] Ibid, p. 7.
[18] For a comparison of interracial exposure in districts with varying desegregation plans see, Frankenberg, E., and Lee, C. (2002). *Race in America: Rapidly Resegregating School Districts.* Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project. p. 13.
[19] Grissmer, D., Flanagan, A., and Williamson, S. (1998). "Why Did the Black-White Score Gap Narrow in the 1970s and 1980s?" in C. Jencks and M. Phillips (eds.), *The Black-White Score Gap.* Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute.
[20] E.g. Gallup poll data discussed below.
[21] See discussion of these districts in Orfield and Eaton, *Dismantling Desegregation.* Supra note 8.

integration. The desegregation movement developed as a centerpiece of a major attack on practices of exclusion and inequality within the very institutions (public schools) that were supposed to provide mobility between the generations. It emerged as part of a social movement dedicated to creating a single society from a society that had been born divided by race and had, for centuries, built up institutions, beliefs, and practices that tended to perpetuate separation and inequality in order to keep the country polarized by race. It was a directed at a system—the public schools— that has long been valued by both the public and the nation's leaders not only for its impact on student academic learning but also for its central role in building the nation, socializing children, preparing citizens, communicating the basic values of our Constitution and democratic system, and helping immigrants from every part of the globe work and live together peacefully and successfully in a single democracy. When we look at the short-term outcomes of schooling such as test scores, our focus is too narrow and we are severely underestimating the roles that schools play. There has been a vast amount of research on these questions since King's time and much of it supports King's vision, though the impacts are smaller than he would have wished. It is clear that the benefits are larger when a school works seriously on integration.[22] It is also clear that many of the benefits are not just about test scores but also about the chances for a better and different life.[23]

WHAT DOES RESEARCH TELL US?

Research regarding desegregation has led to the following general findings.

1) Segregated schools have much higher concentrations of poverty and other problems and much lower average test scores, levels of student, teacher qualifications, and advanced courses.[24] With few exceptions, separate schools are still unequal schools. Ending desegregation plans tends to produce a rapid increase of such schools within a district, and more qualified teachers tend to leave these segregated schools.[25]
2) In systems with desegregation plans, particularly those in areas with substantial white enrollment, minority students tend to transfer to better schools and to learn more, though a racial achievement gap remains.[26] Going to desegregated schools

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[22] Slavin, R.E., and Madden, N. (1979). "School Practices that Improve Race Relations." *American Educational Research Journal* 16, 179-180.

[23] Crain, R. & Mahard, R. (1983). The Effect of Research Methodology on Desegregation-Achievement Studies: A Meta-Analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88 (5), 839-854.

[24] For data regarding the poverty concentration in high minority schools, see Table XX in this report; B.A., and Smith, T.M., "The Social Context of Education," Findings from the *Condition of Education* 1997, National Center for Education Statistics 97-991, 1997.

[25] Freeman, C., Scafidi, B., & Sjoquist, D.L. (2002). Racial segregation in Georgia public schools, 1994-2001: Trends, causes, and impact on teacher quality. Paper presented at the Resegregation of Southern Schools Conference, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The Educational Testing Service reports that the increasing use by states of examinations controlling entry to the teaching profession is linked to a sharp decline in minority teachers. See ETS's studies "The Academic Quality of Prospective Teachers: The Impact of Admissions and Licensure Testing." <www.ets.org>

[26] The Gautreaux program, a remedy for public housing discrimination in Chicago, allowed thousands of very impoverished public housing applicants to move to suburban neighborhoods. Research on this program has shown that after initial adjustment, those moving to suburban neighborhoods experienced many positive social benefits. Educational gains for children included lower dropout rates, a higher

improves students' chances for a desegregated future life, for going to college and succeeding in college, and for living and working in interracial settings.[27]

3) When teachers are trained and use techniques to create positive academic interactions in racially diverse schools, the benefits of desegregated schools increases substantially.[28]

Most of the earlier research on desegregation impacts looked at very simple short-term testing results and assumed that benefits from desegregation would flow to the minority students from contact with better educational opportunities and networks of information and counseling. This early research focused almost exclusively on test score changes.[29] American schools, however, were never created and operated simply to produce higher test scores—however important that may be—but have always been seen as ways to educate the coming generation to be good citizens, successful workers, and able to function more successfully in the diverse society America has become. In fact, it was the long-term effects of access to higher-status networks and information that were part of the legal and theoretical framework for pursuing a strategy of school desegregation as a means of attacking the larger societal segregation. Wells and Crain examined twenty-one studies of the long-term effects, and they conclude that interracial exposure in K-12 education can help break the perpetual cycles of educational and occupational segregation that result from segregated access to information by black and Latinos.[30]

Studies have shown three areas of student outcomes that are strengthened by an integrated classroom: enhanced learning, higher educational and occupational aspirations, and positive social interaction among members of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Students in integrated environments seem to perform better on tests, perhaps through the increased opportunities available to them at such schools, or perhaps as a result of informal networks at these schools, networks that would not be available at even the best segregated school with the most resources.[31] Higher aspirations resulting from integrated schools have been linked to a difference in expectations: predominantly

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likelihood to attend college and be in college-track classes, more teacher support, smaller classes, and higher student achievement. These students also were more likely to have friends who were both black and white, and did not experience any more harassment from their peers than those who remained in the city did. (Rosenbaum, J. (1995). "Changing the Geography of Opportunity by Expanding Residential Choice: Lessons from the Gautreaux Program." *Housing Policy Debate.* 6 (1), 231-269.

[27] A long-term qualitative study of the life experiences of scores of Boston students who had access to white suburban public schools has documented powerful life-long consequences in preparing African American adults to succeed in college and assume leadership roles in the community and in jobs. (Eaton, S.E. (2001). *The Other Boston Busing Story.* New Haven: Yale University Press.); Wells, A.S., and Crain, R.L. (1994). "Perpetuation Theory and the Long-Term Effects of School Desegregation." *Review of Educational Research*, 64, 531-555.

[28] Slavin and Madden, supra note 23.

[29] For a discussion of this research see Weinberg, M. (1977). "The relationship between school desegregation and academic achievement: A review of the research." In B. Levin & W.D. Hawley (Eds.), *The courts, social science and school desegregation* (pp.241-270). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

[30] Wells and Crain, supra note 26

[31] Braddock II, J.H. (1980). "The Perpetuation of Segregation across Levels of Education: A Behavioral Assessment of the Contact-Hypothesis." *Sociology of Education* 53, (3), 178-186.

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minority schools tend to transmit lower expectations to their students.[32] Finally, simple exposure to desegregation as children causes people to live more integrated lives as adults.[33]

Some more recent research, now under way in a number of school districts across the country, shows educational and civic benefits for all groups: for whites, who are the nation's most segregated group of students, as well as for minority students. To further study the effects of integration on both whites and minority students, the Civil Rights Project assembled a group of leading researchers to help develop a study in collaboration with the National Education Association and school systems in a number of metropolitan communities. These surveys, released so far in three communities, show strikingly positive results on important outcomes for the future of our communities and businesses. In Cambridge, Massachusetts, where the public schools are extremely ethnically and economically diverse, there has been integration for a generation. A survey of all high school juniors in this system showed that the vast majority of students (over 90 percent) say they are prepared to live and work among people of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds Across all racial groups of students, over seventy percent indicate that their school experiences have "helped a lot" or "helped somewhat" their ability to work with members of other races and ethnic groups.[34]

The results from metropolitan Louisville-Jefferson County, Kentucky, the largest urban area in the nation's most integrated state, showed very similar results. Louisville implemented city-suburban desegregation in 1975 and has kept a desegregation plan in place without a court order for more than 20 years. The school district recently successfully defended their basic desegregation plan in court by showing its deep importance to the community. Students, both black and white, reported very positive results on a broad range of questions regarding educational and social outcomes. Ninety-three percent of white juniors and 95 percent of African Americans, for example, reported that they were comfortable working with students of other races on group projects. Even higher percentages of white and black students said they were comfortable in classes learned about each other's cultures (94 and 97 percent respectively). Ninety-three percent of whites and 88 percent of African Americans said they had been encouraged to go to college, and college aspirations were similar across race lines.[35]

Eric Hanushek recently published striking evidence about the educational advantages of integration using Texas panel data, the nation's largest dataset that includes data on millions of Texas students tracked over time. The author conclude that,

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[32] Young and Smith, supra note 24

[33] Schofield, J.W. (1995). "Review of Research on School Desegregation's Impact on Elementary and Secondary School Students," in *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, ed. James Banks and Cherry McGee Banks (New York: Simon & Schuster MacMillan), pp. 597-617.

[34] *The Impact of Racial and Ethnic Diversity on Educational Outcomes: Cambridge, MA School District.* Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, January 2002.

[35] Kurlaender, M. and Yun, J.T. (2001). "Is Diversity a Compelling Educational Interest? Evidence from Louisville" in Orfield, G. with M. Kurlaender, eds. *Diversity Challenged: Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Publishing Group, 111-141.

particularly for high-achieving black students, larger percentages of black students in the school can have detrimental effects on academic achievement, when controlling for other factors such as school quality. These effects are especially pronounced in earlier grades. The study estimates that equally distributing black students throughout the state in grades 5-7 would reduce almost one-quarter of the seventh grade black-white achievement gap. They also suggest that the leveling off of closing the test gap in the 1980s might be a result of the leveling off of desegregation gains in the previous decade.[36]

University of Michigan Psychologist Patricia Gurin, who has studied race relations in higher education, explains that "students learn better in a diverse educational environment, and they are better prepared to become active participants in our pluralistic, democratic society once they leave such a setting."[37] By frequently interacting with students from diverse backgrounds, students are challenged to think in deeper and more complex ways. Another benefit is that students educated in such an environment are better able to participate in a heterogeneous democracy because they have already had experience dealing with multiple perspectives and the resulting conflicts that arise in such an environment. She concludes that, across racial lines, "there is a consistent pattern of positive relationships between diversity in higher education and both learning and democracy outcomes."[38]

King's dream of moving from desegregation to integration actually was reflected in federal law for some years in the 1970s. The federal desegregation assistance program, called the Emergency School Aid Act, provided money to retrain staff, work on improving race relations within schools, develop curriculum on minority culture and history, and undertake a number of other strategies to move beyond mere desegregation. Unfortunately, this program was the largest federal education program eliminated in the first year of the Reagan Administration and there, has been no significant federal investment in successfully integrating schools for the last 22 years. This program, which did not finance busing and was very popular with the cities it aided, showed significant evidence of the educational benefits from the efforts to move toward integration. When it was combined with other monies in a block grant the states did not use it for integration.[39]

HAVE AMERICANS LOST THE DREAM?

If schools are becoming more segregated all over the country, is it because Americans believe that desegregation has been a failure and want to return to segregated

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[36] Hanushek, E., J. Kain, & S. Rivkin, (2002). "New Evidence about Brown v. Board of Education: The Complex Effects of School Racial Composition on Achievement." Working Paper 8741. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

[37] Gurin, P. *The Compelling Need for Diversity in Higher Education.* Expert Report for University of Michigan pending lawsuit *Gratz & Hamacher v. Bollinger et al.* 1999.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Wellish, J.B., et al. (1977). *An In-Depth Study of Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) Schools: 1975-1976.* Santa Monica: Systems Development Corporation; Nathan, R.P., et al. (1983). *The Consequences of Cuts: The Effects of the Reagan Domestic Program on State and Local Governments.* Princeton: Princeton Urban and Regional Research Center.

schools? Gallup poll data show an extremely high level of acceptance and approval of integrated education among both blacks and whites. A strong majority, over two-thirds, say that desegregation improves education for blacks, and a growing proportion of the public believes that desegregation also improves education for whites.

The Gallup Poll's 1999 "Social Audit of Black/White Relations in the U.S." asked about school integration and found both blacks and whites increasingly positive about its educational benefits. In 1988, 55% of Americans believed that integration had "improved the quality of education" for blacks, and 35% believed it had made white education better. By 1999, 68% of the public saw an improvement for blacks, and 50% said that it made education better for whites. In 1988, 37% of Americans believed that we needed to do more to integrate the schools. That number climbed to 59% by 1999.[40] A 1999 survey of young adults (ages 18-29) showed that 60% felt that the federal government should make sure that the schools were integrated.[41] A 1998 survey also found that 60% of blacks and 34% of whites said it was "absolutely essential" for schools to "have a diverse student body with kids from different ethnic and racial backgrounds," and only 8% of blacks and 20% of whites said that this was "not too important."[42] A second 1999 Gallup Poll showed that across the U.S., parents believed their children needed to learn about race relations at school: 56% thought that there should be a required course, and 35% believed it should be an elective.[43]

These poll results do not mean that most Americans do not also prefer neighborhood schools—they clearly do. The basic point is that Americans say they believe, by large and growing majorities, that integrated schools are important. Poll data from the last three decades show that both white and black opposition were highest at the beginning of mandatory busing in the early and mid-1970s and declined significantly since that time. The studies also show considerable support from parents of all races whose children have actually been bused for desegregation purposes. More than two-thirds said it was a positive experience and opposition was highest among those with no direct experience.[44]

One interesting fact that is seldom considered is that surveys show that attitudes toward desegregated education in the South improved dramatically following, not before, desegregation took place. A striking example comes from higher education at the University of Alabama: "In 1963, 56 percent of white students...said they would be

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[40] "Gallup Poll Topics: Education," poll conducted August 1999. (Gallup.com website).
[41] Zogby International Poll, "Racial Attitudes Poll of Young Americans," August 16, 1999.
[42] Steve Farkas and Jean Johnson, with Stephen Immerwahr and Joanna McHugh, *Time to Move On: African-Americans and White Parents Set an Agenda for Public* (New York: Public Agenda, 1998).
[43] "Gallup Poll Topics: Education," poll conducted August 1999. (Gallup.com website).
[44] Harris and Associates, *The Unfinished Agenda on Race in America*, report to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, January 1989; Harris, Louis, and associates, *A Study of Attitudes toward Racial and Religious Minorities and Toward Women*, report to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, November 1978.

willing to attend class with blacks. In 1982 the figure was 97 percent. Desegregation itself almost certainly played some role...."[45]

Gallup surveys show equally dramatic changes in southern attitudes toward public school desegregation. In the year of the *Brown* decision, more than four-fifths of Southerners believed the decision was wrong; four decades later, only 15% still believed the Supreme Court had been wrong.[46] In 1959, 72% of white Southerners object to even a few black students in white schools and 83% objected to white children attending schools that were half black. By 1975, these percentages had fallen to 15% and 38%, respectively.[47]

WHY IS RESEGREGATION HAPPENING?

If the schools are not resegregating either because it was a bad idea educationally or because the public turned against it, why is it happening? In the areas where desegregation actually took place at a substantial level, the two basic causes of resegregation are: 1) changes in the racial composition of communities and school-aged population; and 2) changes in the desegregation plan.[48] A third, much more limited factor, is high private school enrollment in some places.

If everything else stayed the same and the country had more African Americans and Latinos, and, at the same time, fewer whites, there would tend to be fewer whites in the average African American or Latino student's school. That is clearly happening as evidenced by the major demographic changes occurring in this country.

In particular, demography is quite important in explaining the rising segregation of Latino students—their numbers are soaring while white enrollment is declining, they are highly concentrated in metro areas in a few states, and they are becoming more residentially segregated.[49] Latino segregation may also be due to the fact that there were very few court orders desegregating Latinos even though the Supreme Court recognized their right to desegregation in the 1973 Denver case.[50]

However, there is another demographic factor pushing in the other direction. Neighborhoods, on average, have become less segregated residentially for blacks during the last decade, although this was less true in the older large cities of the Northeast and

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[45] Stephan, W. "School Desegregation: Short-Term and Long-Term Effects." In Knopke, H.J., Norrell, R.J., and Rogers, R.W. (eds.) *Opening Doors: Perspectives on Race Relations in Contemporary America.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, p. 112.

[46] Orfield, G. "Public Opinion and School Desegregation" *Teachers College Record* 96, no. 4 (Summer 1995): 654-670.

[47] Gallup Opinion Index, February 1976, p. 9.

[48] Orfield and Eaton. Supra note 8.

[49] One study for the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) found that most of the Latino school segregation increases were demographic. National Center for Education Statistics, *The Condition of Education* report.

[50] *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).

Midwest.[51] (Latinos actually became more residentially segregated during the decade.) Because of the geographical nature of school attendance zones, for black students these demographic changes should have resulted in more contact with whites in schools even without desegregation plans.

For African American students, particularly in the South, however, the resegregation seems clearly related to the change in the federal court's position on desegregation law. In spite of similar demographic trends before and after 1988, desegregation of blacks increased steadily from the early 1960s to the late 1980s. Since then, the progress of desegregation has reversed and segregation has been consistently growing.

Laws Affecting the Desegregation of African American Students

The 1954 decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*[52] outlawing *de jure* segregation was the result of decades of struggle by civil rights lawyers; the transformation of the Supreme Court through judicial appointments by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower; the work of experts documenting the harms of segregation; and the recommendation of two Administrations that the Court outlaw apartheid schools. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. recognized, the decision helped spur a huge civil rights movement.[53]

When President Kennedy asked Congress in 1964 to prohibit discrimination in all programs receiving federal aid, 98% of Southern blacks were still in totally segregated schools.[54] In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the efforts to desegregate schools peaked. The only period in which both the courts and the Executive Branch of the government actively supported these efforts was the four years following the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. During this period, federal education officials, the Department of Justice, and federal courts all maintained strong and consistent pressure for achieving actual desegregation.[55]

The Supreme Court authorized busing to desegregate Southern cities in 1971.[56] In 1973, almost two decades after *Brown*, it extended desegregation to the North.[57] All Supreme Court decisions on desegregation were unanimous until the Nixon era. The expansion of Supreme Court remedies soon came to an end, however, with key 5-4 decisions against desegregation across city-suburban lines and against equalizing

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[51] Iceland, J. and Weinberg, D.H. w. Steinmetz, E. (2002). "Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States: 1980-2000." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau.
[52] 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
[53] "Speech before the Youth March for Integrated Schools," supra note 2.
[54] Southern Education Reporting Service in Reed Sarratt, The Ordeal of Desegregation (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 362; HEW Press Release, May 27, 1968; OCR data tapes: 1992-3, 1994-5, 1996-7; and 1998-9 NCES Common Core of Data.
[55] Orfield, G. (1969), supra note 14.
[56] *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ.*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).
[57] *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).

finances among school districts.[58] A closely divided Supreme Court was stalemated on desegregation policy for a long period and left the law basically unchanged between the mid-1970s and 1991. The legal standards in place during this time allowed civil rights organizations to almost always win a lawsuit claiming unconstitutional racial segregation in a school district because almost all of urban school districts had discriminated in relatively overt ways over time.[59] Also, during this period, when faced with mandates to desegregate districts that had long had rapidly declining white and middle class enrollment, many districts and courts adopted limited plans that desegregated part of the student population and that emphasized choice.[60] Such plans often took the form of implementing magnet schools or "controlled choice" plans. Magnet school plans generally offered attractive educational alternatives with students admitted under desegregation guidelines; "controlled choice" plans required all parents to rank their preferences among schools, and then school districts assigned students to their highest choice that was compatible with preserving integration. The federal government modestly supported magnet schools in the 1970s and then again after the mid-1980s.[61]

The Reagan Administration, however, brought a shift in the position of the Justice Department, which took a stance of strong opposition to desegregation litigation, opposing even the continuation of existing desegregation plans.[62] The Administration developed theories that desegregation had failed and that existing desegregation orders should be cancelled after only a few years. The Justice Department began to advocate such a policy in the federal courts in the mid-1980s.[63]

In 1991, the *Oklahoma City v. Dowell* ruling[64] substantially altered the Supreme Court's position on desegregation cases and made it more likely that school districts would be declared "unitary" and freed from further court supervision. It moved from the Warren Court's position in 1968— that school districts must end systems of separate racially defined schools and become "unitary" systems where all schools were part of a common interracial system and all had fair treatment— to the Rehnquist Court's position in 1991 that years of compliance with a court order and a judicial determination that the district had done what was feasible to eliminate any remaining effects of the prior discrimination, whether or not it had actually overcome the history of discrimination constitutes a "unitary" system. Before this ruling, school districts with a history of discrimination were in violation of the Constitution if they took actions that would have the foreseeable impact of restoring segregation. Many assumed that this would be true after court supervision ended as well. The Supreme Court, however, announced that once

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[58] *Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 U.S. 717 (1974); *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, 411 U.S. 1 (1973).

[59] Orfield, G. (1975). Congressional Power: Congress and Social Change. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Steele, L., and Levine, R. (1994) *Educational Innovation in Multiracial Contexts: The Growth of Magnet Schools in American Education.*

[62] Meese III, E. (1992). *With Regan: The Inside Story.* Washington, D.C.: Regnery Gateway, p. 314-9.

[63] Amaker, N.C. (1988). *Civil Rights and the Reagan Administration*, Washington: Urban Institute Press, chapter 3.

[64] *Bd. of Educ. of Oklahoma v. Dowell*, 498 U.S. 237 (1991).

a school district is declared unitary, school authorities are free to do whatever they want, even if it would obviously increase segregation, so long as the actions were not intentionally discriminatory. School districts could resume assigning students to neighborhood schools that were segregated as the result of residential isolation, for example, on the justification that they merely wanted children closer to home.[65]

Once the Supreme Court offered this new interpretation of "unitary status" many districts returned to court to seek the end of their desegregation orders.[66] In districts where they did not, some white parents sought to end these desegregation efforts."[67] Although federal judges usually delayed implementation of desegregation for years and often ordered limited plans that had to be expanded through appeals, a number acted on their own initiative and with considerable speed in terminating desegregation orders.[68] In the recent past, lower federal courts in some parts of the country have been active in terminating desegregation plans even when a school district believes it needs to continue work on its desegregation obligations under a plan.[69]

LAWS AFFECTING THE SEGREGATION OF LATINOS

The story for Latinos is very different. In most states, segregation of Latinos occurred because of residential segregation and through customs and traditions developed over time rather than by official laws.[70] While efforts to desegregate Latinos occurred at the state and local level throughout the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s,[71] the Supreme Court only recognized the Latino right to desegregation in 1973,[72] long after the most active part of the civil rights era had ended. In many of these cases, Latinos sought quality bilingual education programs as part of the remedy for the illegal desegregation as a means of obtaining equal access to the curriculum and eventually an opportunity to be fully integrated.[73] During the Nixon Administration, Executive Branch officials

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[65] The Supreme Court had already ruled that there was no right to equal schools in the 1973 school finance decision. *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, 411 U.S. 1 (1973).

[66] See Table "Selected Unitary Status Rulings, 1990-2002," *infra in Appendix A*

[67] E.g. *Belk v. Capacchione*, 274 F.3d 814 (4th Cir. 2001), *cert. denied*, 122 S.Ct. 1537 (2002).

[68] Orfield, G. (1999). "Conservative Activists and the Rush toward Resegregation," in Jay P. Heubert, ed., Law and School Reform: Six Strategies for Promoting Educational Equity, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 39-87.

[69] See for example, *Belk v. Capacchione*, 274 F.3d 814 (4th Cir. 2001), *cert. denied*, 122 S.Ct. 1537 (2002); *Hampton v. Jefferson County Bd. of Educ.*, 102 F.Supp. 2d 358 (W.D. Ky. 2000).

[70] See, Margaret E. Montoya, A Brief History Of Chicana/O School Segregation: One Rationale For Affirmative Action 12 BERKELEY LA RAZA L.J. 159 (2001); George A. Martinez, Legal Indeterminacy, Judicial Discretion and The Mexican-American Litigation Experience: 1930-1980, 27 UCDLR 555 (1994)

[71] See Carlos M. Alcala & Jorge C. Rangel, Project Report: De Jure Segregation of Chicanos in Texas Schools, 7 HARV. C.R.-C.L. REV. 307 (1972); Margaret E. Montoya, A Brief History Of Chicana/O School Segregation: One Rationale For Affirmative Action 12 BERKELEY LA RAZA L.J. 159 (2001); George A. Martinez, Legal Indeterminacy, Judicial Discretion and The Mexican-American Litigation Experience: 1930-1980, 27 UCDLR 555 (1994).

[72] *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).

[73] See *United States v. Texas*, 342 F. Supp. 24 (E.D. Tex. 1971) (ordering bilingual/bicultural education to prevent segregation of Mexican-Americans), aff'd, 466 F.2d 518 (5th Cir. 1972); George A. Martinez,

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consciously decided to offer Latinos enforcement of bilingual education rather than pursue their rights under traditional desegregation laws.[74] The Supreme Court recognized the right of federal civil rights enforcement officials to devise policies to address discrimination in schools on the basis of language in the 1974 *Lau* decision.[75] By the late 1990s, of course, there was a very active movement to outlaw bilingual education and voter referenda to do so have now succeeded in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts even as the segregation of Latino children grows.[76] Colorado is the only state that has so far defeated a voter initiative to eliminate bilingual education.

Many recent school desegregation decisions are inconsistent with the original spirit of *Brown* and the progeny of decisions flowing from it. A number of courts, reflected in the decisions in the unitary status table in Appendix A of this report, have approved unitary status and dismantled desegregation plans, and in some cases racial segregation remained. Also, some courts have found voluntary local race-conscious efforts to produce desegregated schools impermissible.[77] On the other hand, courts have supported continuation of desegregation efforts in Rochester, New York, Louisville, Kentucky, and Seattle, Washington as an appropriate policy.[78]

Considerable confusion about the status of desegregation law exists but clearly the basic trend is toward the dissolution of desegregation orders and return to patterns of more intense segregation.

Legal Indeterminacy, Judicial Discretion And The Mexican-American Litigation Experience: 1930-1980, 27 UCDLR 555 (1994)

[74] Orfield, G. (1978). Supra note 9.

[75] *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974) (school district violated Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and discriminated on the basis of race and national origin because the Chinese-speaking students were receiving fewer benefits than their English-speaking peers and were denied a meaningful opportunity to participate in the educational program).

[76] See chapters 7 and 9 in Orfield, G. (1978). Supra note 9. Garcia, E.E. "Chicanos in the United States: Language, Bilingual Education, and Achievement." In J. Moreno (1999), *The Elusive Quest for Equality: 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Review.

[77] *Tuttle v. Arlington County School Bd.*, 195 F.3d 698 (4th Cir. 1999), *cert. dismissed*, 529 U.S. 1050 (2000); *Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Public Schools*, 197 F.3d 123 (4th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 529 U.S. 1019 (1999); *Wessman v. Gittens*, 160 F.3d 790 (1st Cir. 1998).

[78] *Brewer v. West Irondequoit Central School Dist.*, 212 F.3d 738 (2d Cir. 2000); *Hampton v. Jefferson County Bd. of Educ.*, 102 F.Supp. 2d 358 (W.D. Ky. 2000) (the court recognized "the democratically-elected school board's power to use race in limited, constitutional ways to maintain its desegregated school system"); *Parents Involved in Cmty. Schools v. Seattle School Dist. No. 1*, 137 F.Supp. 2d 1224 (W.D. Wash. 2001) (this decision was appealed, and a final decision about whether the school district's voluntary efforts are permissible is still pending)

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study's analysis come from the National Center for Education Statistic's (NCES) Common Core of Data (CCD) for 2000-01[1] and previous years, which contains enrollment data submitted annually by virtually all U.S. schools to the Department of Education.[2] The Public School Universe is a comprehensive, yearly national dataset of all public schools in operation and includes student information that is comparable across states, which allows for computation of descriptive statistics such as the segregation measures described below. This study utilizes the following variables from CCD: the racial/ethnic group elementary and secondary school enrollment figures as well as student poverty information (as measured by free and/or reduced lunch status).

In examining trends in desegregation and, now, resegregation over the last one-third century, this report calls on several widely used measures of racial isolation from the late 1960s through 2000.

In calculating school segregation, we rely on two measures to portray different dimensions of segregation. The exposure index shows the percentage of a particular group present in the school of the average student in another group[3] For example, with a Latino-white exposure index of 29%, the average Latino student attended a school comprised of 29 percent whites. It is important to note that the exposure index is not a measure of discrimination or of the feasibility of desegregation in a given district--just of the actual level of interracial exposure.

We also calculate the percentage of black and Latino students in predominantly minority[4] (defined as 50-100 percent minority) and extremely segregated minority schools (defined as schools with less than 10% white students). This measure demonstrates the number and proportion of students who are attending racially imbalanced and isolated schools.

The report is organized as follows. It begins with an examination of the racial enrollments in the nation's schools looking at who attends the nation's public schools, how that has this changed over time, and what the current state of desegregation is across racial/ethnic groups. The paper next examines similar issues at the regional level, focusing on several measures of racial isolation: minority exposure to white students and proportion of students in schools with varying concentrations of minorities. State trends are reported in the third section. Finally, the last section explores the demographic

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[1] Unless otherwise specified, the data in the tables was taken from 2000-1 NCES Common Core of Data.

[2] Due to the fact that enrollment data disaggregated by race was not available for the Tennessee districts in the 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data, we used the data as reported by the Tennessee Department of Education. http://www.state.tn.us/education/

[3] Massey, D. S. and Denton, N.A. (1988). "The dimensions of racial segregation." *Social Forces* 67:281-315; Orfield, G., Bachmeier, M., James, D., and Eitle, T. (1997). "Deepening segregation in American Public Schools." Cambridge, MA: Harvard Project on School Desegregation.

[4] It should be noted that the use of minority throughout this report is only used in the sense that African American, Latino, Asian, and Native American students still comprise a numerical minority of the total school population, and white students are still numerically a majority of the student enrollment. Some have critiqued the use of this word as an implicit value statement about non-white people; no such connotation is intended by our usage.

changes in the country's largest school districts (those greater than 60,000). Differences between central city, countywide metropolitan, and suburban districts are noted. The report concludes with a discussion of the implications of the trends reported and suggestions for possible policy efforts to slow and eventually reverse the segregating trends we report here.

RACIAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE SCHOOLS

In the three decades since the Civil Rights era began, there has been rapid transformation of the racial composition of the nation's public schools. The most rapidly growing racial/ethnic group is Latinos, who have increased from 22.4 million to 32.4 million in the last decade, a growth of more than 45%.[1] This change in overall population is reflected in the public school enrollment. Table 1 shows the change in public school enrollment since 1968 for the three largest racial groups: white, black, and Latino students. Black and Latino students now make up more than a third of the total student population in public schools as compared to 1968, when only one in five students were non-white. High birth rates and increased immigration have resulted in an increase of Latino school enrollment, which is now more than 7.5 million and quickly approaching the black public school enrollment of about 8 million students. White public school enrollment has dropped by almost 6 million since 1968 to 29 million in 2000. In 1968, whites comprised 80% of the public school population; today, only 62%. Asians, currently almost 2 million students, comprise about 4% of total public school enrollment and are rapidly increasing. The smallest racial group, Native Americans, is slightly more than 1% of the enrollment.

This growth in the non-white student population, especially among Latino students, is significant in its pace and magnitude. To better understand the extent of this change, consider that for every Latino student in a public school in 1968, there were 17 white students and three black students (see Figure 1). In contrast, there are only about four white students and one black student for every Latino student in 2000. Looking at only the last six years, there has been a 38% increase in Latino student population, compared to a 13% increase in black school enrollment and a decline of 1.2% in white enrollment during the same time period. In fact, some school districts, located primarily in the Sunbelt, already have Latino majorities.[2] The demographic changes that have altered schools' racial composition in some states forecast our country's multiracial future in which there will be no one majority racial group.

Table 1
Public School Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity, 1968-2000 (In Millions)

	1968	1980	1994	1996	1998	2000	Change 1968-2000
Latinos	2.0	3.2	5.6	6.4	6.9	7.7	+5.7 (283%)
Whites	34.7	29.2	28.5	29.1	28.9	28.8	- 5.9 (-17%)
Blacks	6.3	6.4	7.1	7.7	7.9	8.1	+1.8 (29 %)

Source: DBS Corp., 1982, 1987; Gary Orfield, Rosemary George, and Amy Orfield, "Racial Change in U.S. School Enrollments, 1968-84," paper presented at National Conference on School Desegregation, University of Chicago, 1968. 1996-7, 1998-9, 2000-1 NCES Common Core of Data.

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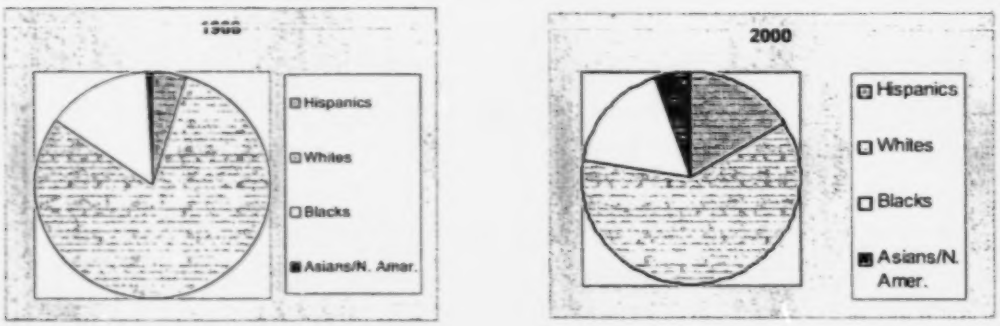
[1] Statistical Abstract of the United States in 2001, table 15, p. 17. (http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/01statab/stat-ab01.html)
[2] See District Section *infra*

Figure 1
Percentage of Public School Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity, 1968 and 2000



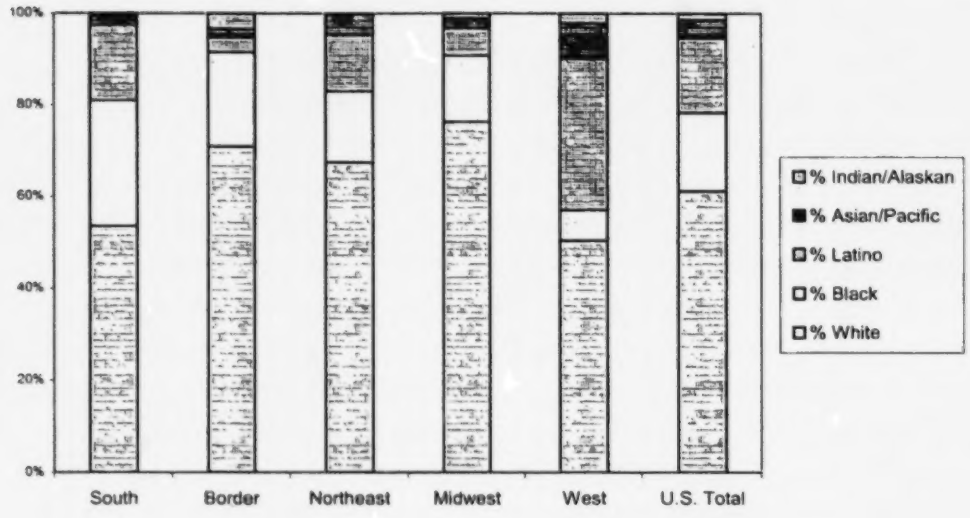
The increasingly multiracial student population—more prevalent in some regions than others—complicates the traditional black-white model of integration. Every region in the country has become less white, including Hawaii and Alaska, where both Latino and black growth outpace white enrollment growth.[3] The two largest regions—the South and the West—enroll more than half of all students in the U.S. and have the highest concentrations of black and Latino students, respectively (see Table 2). In fact, these regions are quickly approaching student populations where whites are in the minority. By contrast, the Northeast and Midwest still have large white majorities. Three-fourths of all Midwestern and two-thirds of Northeastern public school are white.

Table 2
Regular Public School Enrollments by Race/Ethnicity and Region, 2000-01

Region	Total Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian Pacific	% Indian Alaskan
South	14,361,152	53.6	27.4	16.5	2.1	0.4
Border	3,478,610	71.0	20.6	3.3	1.9	3 3
Northeast	8,227,746	67.4	15.5	12.4	4.4	0.3
Midwest	9,837,237	76.3	14.4	6.0	2.3	0.9
West	10,785,326	50.5	6.6	33.0	7.8	2.1
Alaska	133,356	61.5	4.6	3.4	5.5	25.0
Hawaii	184,360	20.4	2.3	4.5	72.3	0.4
Bureau of Indian Affairs schools	46,938	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
U.S. Total	**47,054,724**	**61.2**	**17.1**	**16.3**	**4.1**	**1.3**

[3] For 1998 enrollment figures see Orfield, G. (2001). "Schools More Separate: Consequences of a Decade of Resegregation." Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project, p. 20.

Figure 2
Public School Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity and Region, 2000



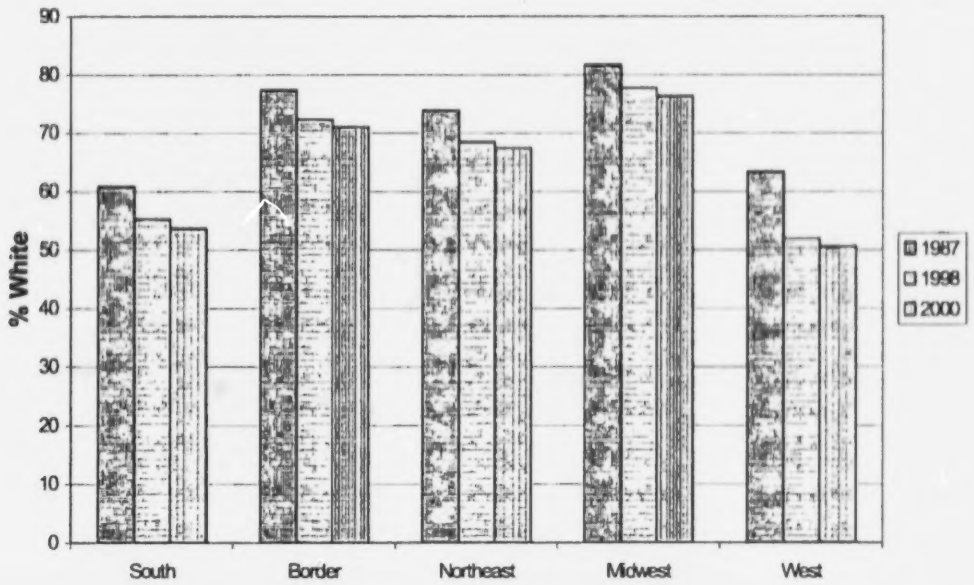
There are now six states, including the country's two largest (California and Texas) where white students are a minority of the enrolled public school population. Together, they have one-fourth of total public school enrollment. By racial/ethnic group, more than 20% of black, 60% of Latino, almost 50% of Asian, and 20% of Indian students nationwide are attending schools in these six states (see Table 3). By contrast, only one in six white students, nationally, attends schools in these states. Two states alone, California and Texas, have twenty percent of total US public school enrollment and 56% of total Latino enrollment. Additionally, roughly half of the student population in Louisiana and Mississippi is black. This indicates how concentrated minorities are within some states.

Table 3
Public School Enrollments in Majority Non-White States by Race/Ethnicity, 2000-01

Region	Total Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian/ Pacific	% Indian/ Alaskan
California	6,015,676	36.1	8.5	43.4	11.1	0.9
Hawaii	184,360	20.4	2.3	4.5	72.3	0.4
Louisiana	742,713	48.9	47.8	1.4	1.3	0.6
Mississippi	497,870	47.3	51.1	0.8	0.7	0.1
New Mexico	320,306	35.3	2.4	50.2	1.1	11.1
Texas	4,059,619	42.0	14.4	40.6	2.7	0.3
U.S. Total	**25.1**	**16.1**	**21.3**	**58.0**	**48.1**	**19.1**

In contrast to the increasing minority enrollment, the percentage of total students enrolled in public schools who are white has dropped in all regions since 1987, most rapidly in the West and South (See Figure 3). White students in these two regions will soon no longer be the majority: currently, 51 and 54 percent of public school enrollment in the West and South, respectively, is white. Other regions have had similar but less substantial drops in white school enrollment.[4]

Figure 3
White Students as Percentage of Total Enrollment by Region and Year



Source: 1987-88, 1998-99, 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

The country's public schools have undergone rapid demographic changes since the Civil Rights era. White students are no longer overwhelming predominant: in six states, white students are a minority. These changes are multiracial as well: in 1968, most non-white students were black; within the next few years, there will be more Latino students than black in our public schools. The transformation of the student population has been accompanied with growing patterns of segregation, which we now turn to.

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[4] One of the major reasons for the decrease in white enrollment is a lower birth rate among whites. The Statistical Abstract shows that minority families tend to have larger and younger families; as a result, the white proportion of total enrollment in public school enrollment has decreased. It is interesting to note that there have not been substantial changes in white private school enrollment. A recent study shows that white enrollment in private schools has remained fairly stable at 12% for most of the last three decades. The white enrollment rate in 2000 is just less than the 1968 level of about 13%. For a more detailed discussion see Reardon, S. and Yun, J.T. (2002). *Private School Racial Enrollments and Segregation.* Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University.

DESEGREGATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

The U.S. is experiencing a more diverse, multiracial population than ever before. For the typical student of each race (white, black, Latino, Asian, and American Indian), the percentage of white students in his or her school fell.[5] As a result of this diversity, white students are attending public schools with more minority students than before, as measured by the exposure index (see Table 4). White, black, and Latino students all attend schools in which the majority of the student body is composed of students of their own race, as calculated by the exposure index. Of all racial groups, whites remain the most isolated group: the average white public school student attended schools that were comprised of almost 80 percent white students. Blacks are the second largest group in the school of the average white student, comprising only 8.6% of the total enrollment.

At the aggregate level, the average Asian student attends the most integrated schools.[6] However, that is not to say that Asians are not segregated. While it is true that Asians are the most integrated of all the minorities, they still attend schools that are on average 22% Asian, despite being only 4% of the total student population. Almost half of the student body in the schools of Asian students, on average, is white, while about a third of the student body is, combined, Latino and black. In the last two years, the drop in the percentage of white students in the school of the average black was sharper than for students of any other race (2.5%).[7] Native American students attend schools, on average, in which half the student body is white. Their exposure to black students is lowest among all racial groups. Native American students attend schools with slightly less than one-third students of their own race, on average.

Table 4
Racial Composition of Schools Attended by the Average Student of Each Race, 2000-01

	Racial Composition of School Attended by Average:				
Percent Race in Each School	**White Student**	**Black Student**	**Latino Student**	**Asian Student**	**NAtive American Student**
% White	79.7	30.9	28.6	45.8	49.4
% Black	8.6	54.3	12.0	12.0	7.2
% Latino	7.6	11.4	53.7	19.3	10.7
% Asian	3.1	2.9	4.9	22.2	2.6
% Native American	0.9	0.5	0.8	0.7	30.1
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

[5] For 1998 data, see: Orfield, G. (2001). Supra note 89.

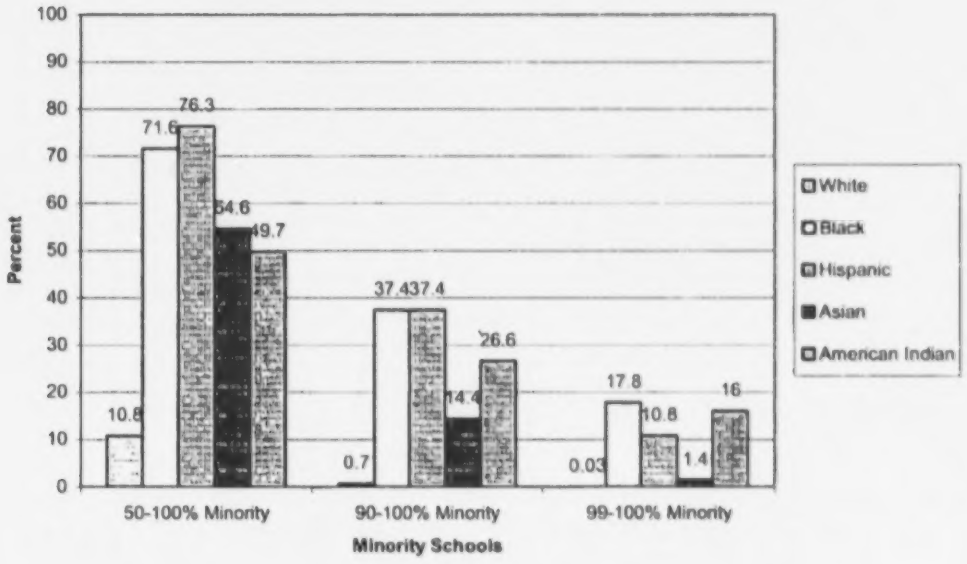
[6] According to a recent report released by the Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, there are now at least six distinct Asian groups, with very large differences in social background, educational levels, and linguistic abilities. Because of these distinct background characteristics, the data may not apply to certain Asian subgroups. The complexity of the issue is beyond the scope of this report and will be addressed in a forthcoming report. (*Dr. John R. Logan , Jacob Stowell, and Elena Vesselinov.* From Many Shores: Asians in Census 2000. University of Albany: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, October 6, 2001.)

[7] Orfield, G. (2001). Supra note 89.

Just over ten percent of white students attend schools that have a predominantly minority population. By contrast, almost three-fourths of black and Latino students attend schools that are predominantly minority. Less than one percent of white students attend 90-100% minority schools while about 40 percent of blacks and Latinos attend these schools. Of all minority groups, Asian students are the least likely to experience racially isolated schools, in part due to their relatively low numbers. Less than 15% of Asian students attend intensely segregated schools, schools that are 90-100% minority, and just over 1% attends 99-100% minority schools.

Almost 2.4 million students, or over five percent of all public school enrollment, attend apartheid schools, defined as 99-100% minority schools. Of these, 2.3 million were black and Latino students and only 72,000 were white. More than one in six black children attend a school that is 99-100% minority, a rate that is higher than that for students of any other racial group. One in nine Latino students attend virtually all minority schools. By contrast, less than one in a thousand white students attend these schools.

Figure 4
Percentage of Students in Minority Schools by Race, 2000-2001



A substantial percentage of students now attend schools where at least three races are each 10% or more of the total student population respectively. Only 14% of white students attend these multiracial schools, the lowest of any student group (see Table 5). In fact, black students are twice as likely and Latino students three times as likely as white students to attend multiracial schools. Only one in four Native American students are found in multiracial schools. The percentage of Asian students in multiracial schools is substantially higher than any other racial group. Three-quarters of all Asian students in this country attend schools with three races or more present.

During the 1990s, the percentage of students of every race in multiracial schools has increased. In 1992-93, 40% of Asian students were in multiracial schools; by 2000-01, this proportion had almost doubled. The percentage of white students in multiracial schools almost doubled as well during this eight-year time span, though whites are still the least likely to be in such settings. The percentage of black, Latino, and American Indian students in multiracial schools also grew in the 1990s, suggesting an urgent need for more research and policy about issues facing multiracial schools.

Table 5
Percentage of Students in Multiracial Schools by Race

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Native American
1992-93	7.8	16.3	26.6	41.0	16.2
2000-01	14.3	28.9	38.8	75.0	24.9

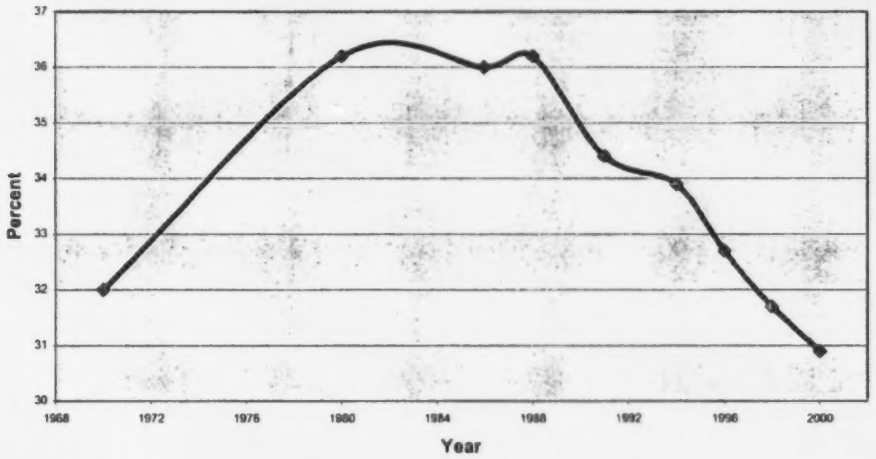
Source: 1992-3, 2000-1 NCES Common Core of Data

Black Resegregation

As a result of Supreme Court rulings in the late 1960s and early 1970s that demanded that Southern school boards do more to ensure that desegregation plans actually reduced racial isolation, the South went from the most segregated to the most integrated region for black students in only a relatively short period of time.[8] Black students' exposure to white students actually increased in the South during the 1970s and remained constant through the 1980s, even as the overall white proportion of enrollment decreased. However, since the late 1980s, there has been a consistent decline in black-white exposure.

A measure of these trends in school segregation is the exposure of minority students to whites. The percentage of white students in schools of the average black has declined since 1988 (see Figure 5). From 1991 to 2000, there was a ten percentage point decline in the share of white students in schools of the average black student to the current low of 31%. While part of this decline may be due to the declining white student population, for black students this trend reversed dramatically the desegregation gains of the 1970s and 1980s.

Figure 5
Percentage of White Students in Schools Attended by the Average Black Student, 1968-2000

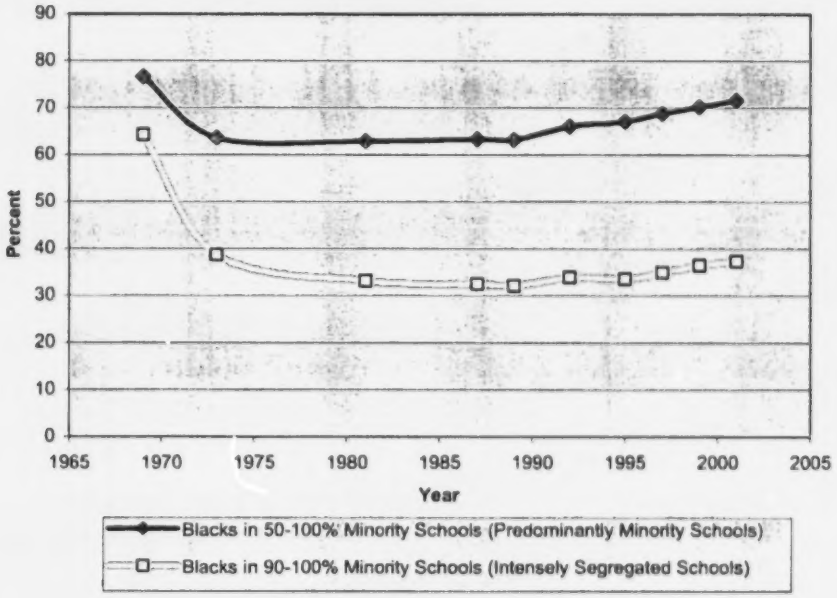


Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation, 1968-1986; 1991-92, 1996-97; 1998-99; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

[8] See Table 10 *infra*

If one of the aims of desegregation was to cut segregation in public schools and to create interracial schools, then another measure of school segregation is the number of minority students remaining in predominantly and intensely segregated minority schools. Over 70 % of black students attend predominantly minority schools, defined as schools with 50-100% minority student populations. In addition to decreasing exposure of black students to white students in their schools, the percentage of black students in intensely segregated schools is now larger than it has been since the early 1970s. The percentage of black students in extremely racially isolated schools decreased sharply from the late 1960s when two out of every three black students were in such schools. However, the percentage of blacks in intensely segregated schools has increased since a low of 32% in 1988. There was a 2.4 percentage point increase for black students in the last four years alone. Over a third (37.4%) of black students face intense isolation by 2001 (see Figure 6).

Figure 6
Percentage of Black Students in Predominantly Minority and Intensely Segregated Schools, 1968-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Public School Desegregation in the United States, Table 1; 1991-92, 1996-97; 1998-99; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

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Segregation of Latino Students

The growth in the Latino student population is happening throughout the country. Although the four primary states in Table 6 with Latino enrollments greater than 150,000 in 2000 are in the West, there are also two states in the South, two in the Northeast, and one in the Midwest. Florida, for example, has had the highest rate of growth in Latino student enrollment in the last thirty years with an unparalleled increase of 614%; Illinois shot up 304% during the same time period. With an increase of almost 2 million since 1970, California has had the largest absolute change in Latino enrollment, a 270% increase.

Table 6
Growth of Latino Enrollments, 1970-2000[9]

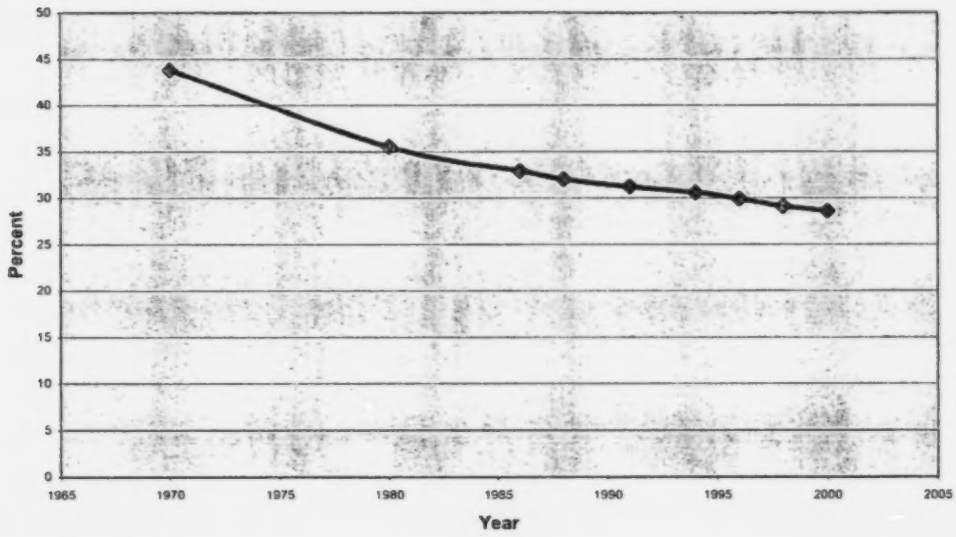
States	1970	2000	Enrollment Change (1970-2000)	Percent Change (1970-2000)
California	706,900	2,613,480	1,906,580	269.7
Texas	565,900	1,646,508	1,080,608	190.9
New York	316,600	533,631	217,031	68.6
Florida	65,700	469,362	403,662	614.4
Illinois	78,100	315,446	237,346	303.9
Arizona	85,500	297,703	212,203	248.2
New Jersey	59,100	201,509	142,409	240.9
New Mexico	109,300	160,708	51,408	47.0
Colorado	84,281	159,547	75,226	89.3

Source: DBS Corp.1982; 1987; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data Public School Universe

Unlike black students who have the focus of hundreds of desegregation orders and Office for Civil Rights enforcement efforts, Latinos have remained increasingly segregated, due, in part, to demographic changes in the population and limited legal and policy efforts targeted to increasing desegregation for Latinos. Latinos were not included in most desegregation court orders due to their small presence in most Southern districts during the 1960s. As a result, Latino students have, until recently, consistently been more isolated from white students than the average black student (see Figure 7). Currently, the average Latino student goes to school where less than 30 percent of the school population is white.

[9] Table includes states with more than 150,000 Latino students in 2000

Figure 7
Percentage of White Students in Schools Attended by the Average Latino Student, 1968-2000

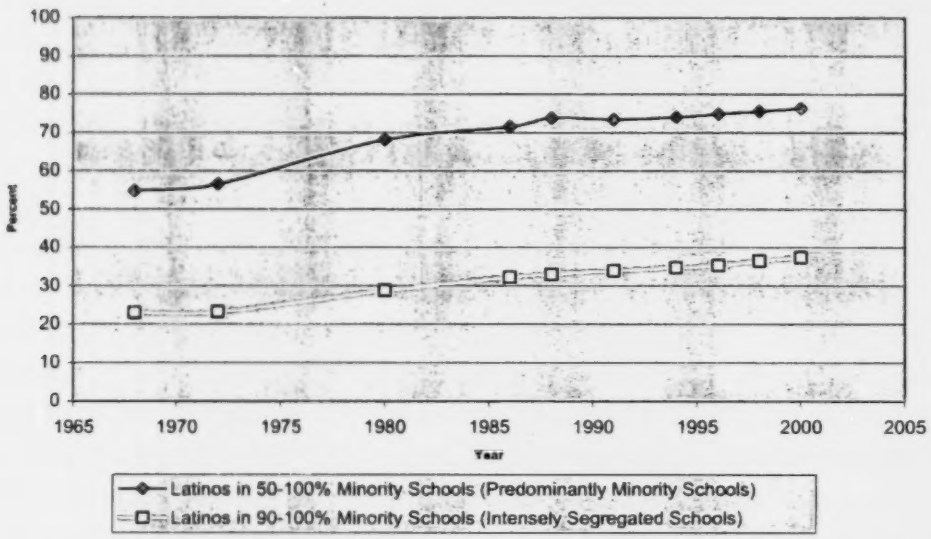


Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation, 1968-1986; 1991-92, 1996-97; 1998-99; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

The percentage of Latino students in predominantly minority schools has steadily increased since the 1960s and actually exceeded that of blacks in the 1980s. In the last decade, with the dismantling of desegregation orders and the resegregation of blacks, the level of black segregation is now comparable to that of Latinos: seven out of ten black and Latino students attend predominantly minority schools. The percentage of Latinos in predominantly minority schools is slightly higher than that of blacks (76% for Latinos, 72% for blacks).

More Latinos than ever before are also now in intensely segregated schools (90-100% minority), rising from 462,000 in 1968 to 2.86 million in 2000, an increase of 520% in a little over 30 years. After a low of 23% in the late 1960s, the percentage of Latinos attending these schools has consistently increased to reach an unprecedented 37% in 2000 (see Figure 8).

Figure 8
Latinos in Predominantly Minority and Intensely Segregated Schools



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Public School Desegregation in the United States, Table 10; 1991-92, 1996-97; 1998-99; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

English Language Learners (ELLs) who are Latino attend schools where over 60% of students are Latino, compared to the average Latino who attends a school where 54% of the students are Latino (Table 10). By comparison, the isolation is less severe for Asian ELL students, for example; only one-quarter of their schools, on average, are Asian (see Table 7).

Table 7: Racial Composition of Schools Attended by English Language Learners, 2000

Average Percent of Each Race in School (%)	***Racial Composition of School Attended by Average:***		
	English Language Learner	**Latino English Language Learner**	**Asian English Language Learner**
White	26	22	36
Black	12	11	14
Latino	52	61	25
Asian	7	5	25

Source: 2000 Office of Civil Rights E&S Data. Table adapted from Catherine Horn "The Intersection of Race, Class and English Learner Status". CRP Working Paper, August 2002.

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Relationship between Racial Segregation and Poverty

These consistent trends towards increasing segregation for the nation's minority students should be considered in the context of segregation's strong correlation to poverty.[10] High poverty schools have been shown to increase educational inequality for students in these schools because of problems such as a lack of resources, a dearth of experienced and credentialed teachers, lower parental involvement, and high teacher turnover.[11] Almost half of the students in schools attended by the average black or Latino student are poor or near poor.[12] By contrast, less than one in five students in schools attended by the average white student is classified as poor (see Table 8).

In 2000, the U.S. experienced the peak in the economic boom of the 1990s. While the percent poor in the school of the average white student decreased from 1998 to 2000, however, the percent poor in the school of the typical black student has increased. In 2000, the percent poor in black or Latino students' schools were almost twice the percent poor in schools of the typical Asian student. The typical Native American student attended a school with roughly 30% poor students, a five-percentage point decrease from 1998.

Table 12
Percent Poor in Schools Attended by the Average Student, By Race and Year

Percent Poor	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American
1996-97	18.7	42.7	46.0	29.3	30.9
1998-99	19.6	39.3	44.0	26.3	35.1
2000-01	19.1	44.8	44.1	26.2	31.3

Source: 1996-97; 1998-99; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data Public School Universe.

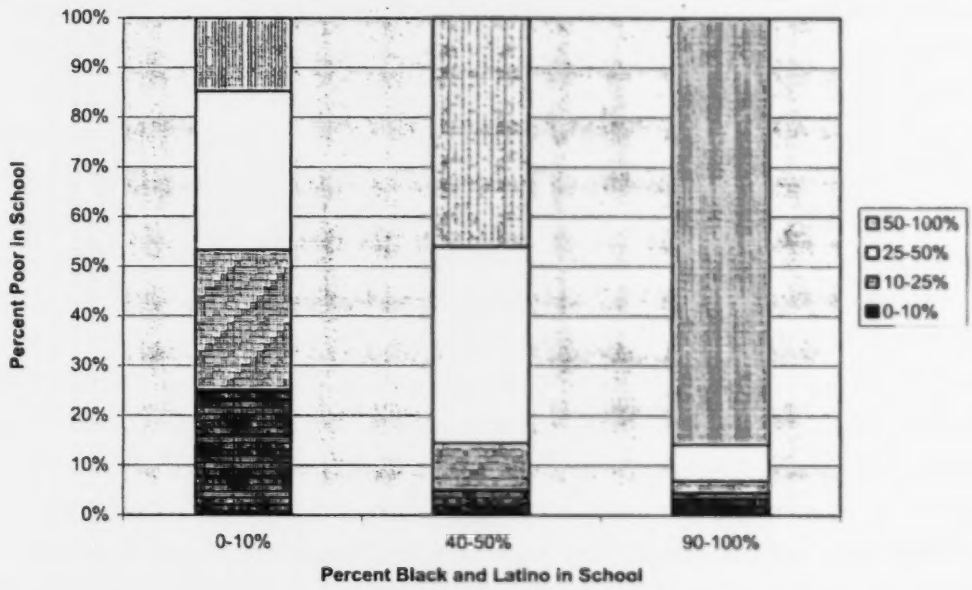
A large number of all public schools are either 90-100% white or 90-100% black and Latino. In 2000, almost half of all schools had less than 10% black and Latino students. By contrast, one-tenth of all schools were 90-100% black and Latino. Fifteen percent of the intensely segregated white schools had more than half of the student body receiving free or reduced lunch. By contrast, a staggering 86% of intensely segregated black and Latino schools had more than half of the students on free or reduced lunch (see Table 9). Students in an intensely segregated minority school, then, were almost six times as likely to be in a predominantly poor school as those students attending 90-100% white schools. Over four-fifths of schools with less than 30% white students were schools in which at least half of the students were poor.

[10] The correlation between percent black and Latino enrollment in a school and Percent Poor, or the number of students receiving free and reduced lunch at school, is moderately strong (r=.61).
[11] Natriello, G., McDill, E.L. & Pallas, A.M. (1990). *Schooling Disadvantaged Children: Racing Against Catastrophe*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
[12] Poor or near poor students are measured as those who are eligible for the federal government's free or reduced lunch program.

Table 9
Relationship Between Segregation by Race and by Poverty, 2000-01

	Percent Black and Latino Students in Schools									
% Poor in Schools	**0-10%**	**10-20%**	**20-30%**	**30-40%**	**40-50%**	**50-60%**	**60-70%**	**70-80%**	**80-90%**	**90-100%**
0-10%	25.1	19.3	9.3	5.1	5.1	4.8	5.1	4.7	4.2	4.6
10-25%	28.1	29.5	26.0	15.7	9.4	5.0	3.2	2.4	1.6	2.3
25-50%	32.0	35.1	40.7	43.5	39.5	30.6	20.3	12.3	9.4	7.3
50-100%	14.7	16.1	24.1	35.6	46.0	59.6	71.4	80.6	84.8	85.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% of U.S. Schools	**44.5**	**11.4**	**7.7**	**6.1**	**5.4**	**4.6**	**3.9**	**3.5**	**3.7**	**9.2**

Figure 9
Relationship Between Segregation by Race and Poverty, 2000-01



REGIONAL TRENDS

Black Segregation

One of the most consistent trends of the last decade is a reversal of gains in desegregation for black students made in the South in the late 1960s and 1970s as a result of judicial and executive enforcement of desegregation orders. In fact, court-ordered desegregation of black students in Southern states resulted in the South becoming the most integrated region of the country, with 43.5% of black students in majority white schools in 1988 (Table 10). In the 1990s, as the desegregation plans have been dismantled across the South, however, the proportion of black students in majority white schools has decreased by 13 percentage points.

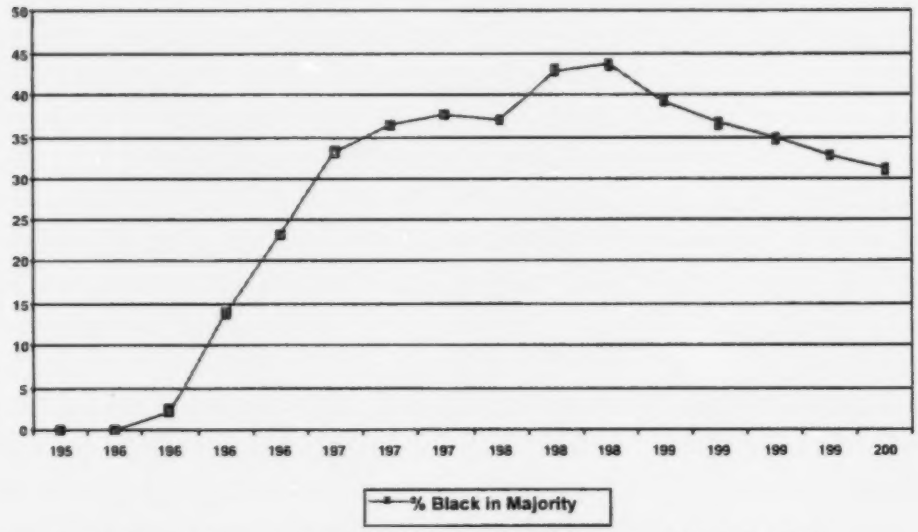
In 2000, black segregation rates in the South continue to increase steadily as they have for over a decade. Today, only 31% of Southern black students are in majority white schools, a rate lower than any year since 1968 (see Table 10).

Table 10
Change in Black Segregation in the South, 1954-2000

Year	Percent of Black Students in Majority White Schools
1954	0.001
1960	0.1
1964	2.3
1967	13.9
1968	23.4
1970	33.1
1972	36.4
1976	37.6
1980	37.1
1986	42.9
1988	43.5
1991	39.2
1994	36.6
1996	34.7
1998	32.7
2000	31.0

Source: Southern Education Reporting Service in Reed Sarratt, The Ordeal of Desegregation (New York: Harper & Row, 1966): 362; HEW Press Release, May 27, 1968; OCR data tapes; 1992-93, 1994-5, 1996-7, 1998-9, 2000-1 NCES Common Core of Data.

Figure 10
Change in Black Integration in the South



Source: Southern Education Reporting Service in Reed Sarratt, The Ordeal of Desegregation (New York: Harper & Row, 1966): 362; HEW Press Release, May 27, 1968; OCR data tapes; 1992-93, 1994-5, 1996-7, 1998-9, 2000-1 NCES Common Core of Data.

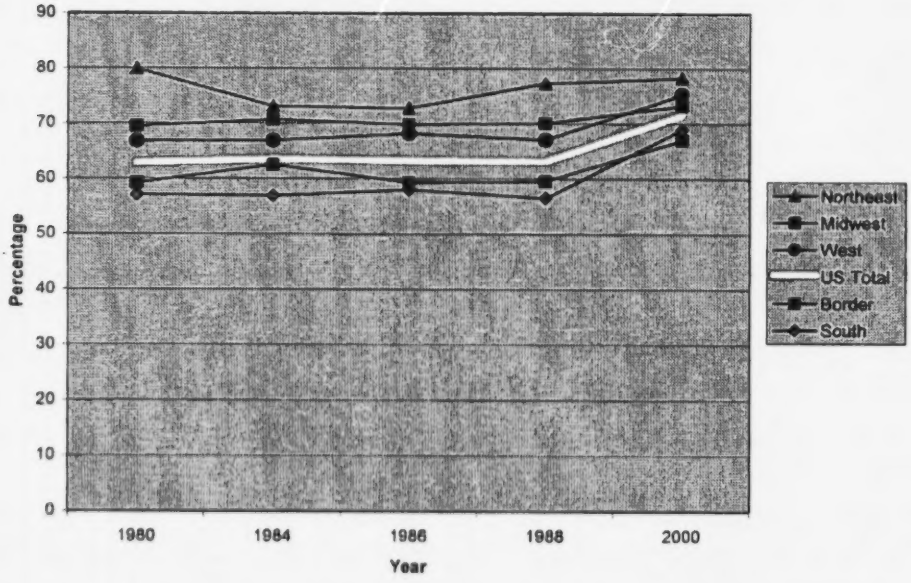
Another contributing factor to segregation of all students is the role of private schools in much of the South, which has the highest levels of segregation between the public and private sectors.[1] White students are enrolled in private schools at a rate three times greater than black students and twice as great as Latino students.

Increasing segregation was evident in every region, as the percentage of black students in both predominantly minority (50-100% minority) schools and in intensely segregated (90-100%)minority schools rose from 1988-2000. As seen in Figure 11, the Border and South regions (the two regions of the country that formerly practiced legally-mandated segregation) have the lowest percentages of blacks in predominantly minority schools, although this percentage has risen considerably (more than 10 percentage points) in the South since 1988. The three regions with the smallest proportion of black students (Northeast, Midwest, and West) consistently have at least two thirds of their black students attending predominantly minority schools. Since 1980, the Northeast remains the region with the highest share of blacks attending predominantly minority schools,

[1] Reardon, Sean and John Yun. *Private School Racial Enrollments and Segregation.* Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project, June 2002.

with almost four out of every five black students in these schools. Additionally, the exposure of black to white students in their schools has decreased across all regions from 1988-2000. In 1988, the average black student attended schools that were 36.2% white; in 2000, the typical black student attends a school that is 30.9% white.

Figure 11
Percentage of Black Students in Predominantly Minority Schools by Region, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation: 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

More black students were also attending 90-100% minority schools in 2000 than in 1980. Again, the Northeast has remained the region with the highest proportion of its black students attending minority and 90-100% minority schools, with over half of black students attending such schools. In 2000, two out of every five black students in the Border and Midwest regions attended intensely segregated schools. The South and the West have the lowest percentages of black students in these intensely segregated schools, although the South is rapidly resegregating: in just a little over a decade, the proportion of black students attended intensely segregated schools in the South has risen seven percentage points (Figure 12).

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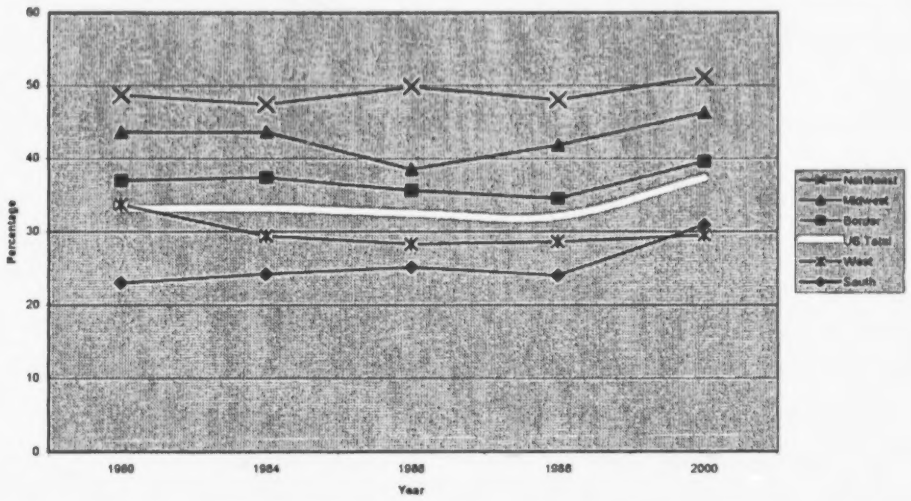
Figure 12
Percentage of Black Students in 90-100% Minority Schools by Region, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation: 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

A promising note is that, in almost every region, the percentage of black students in almost entirely minority schools (99-100% minority) has decreased since 1988 (Figure 13). The South and the West, the two regions of the country with the most minorities, have the smallest percentage of black students in 99-100% minority schools. Despite these decreases, however, over one quarter of black students in the Northeast and Midwest attend 99-100% minority schools. The relatively few desegregation court orders still enforced in the North and Midwest may explain the intense segregation of black students in these regions.[2] Another contributing factor may be due to the fact that many school districts in the North and Midwest that draw their students from local, highly-segregated neighborhoods reflect the segregated residential patterns in metro areas. By contrast, when school districts draw the students from broader geographic area, particularly countywide districts, they tend to have lower levels of racial isolation and segregation. [3]

[2] Orfield and Eaton, supra note 8.
[3] Clotfelter, C.T. (1999). "Public School Segregation in Metropolitan Areas," *Land Economics* 75 (November), 487-504.

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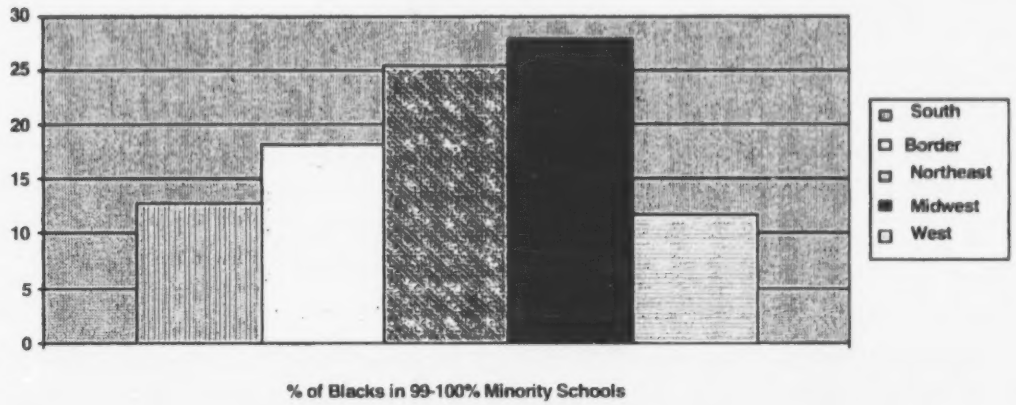
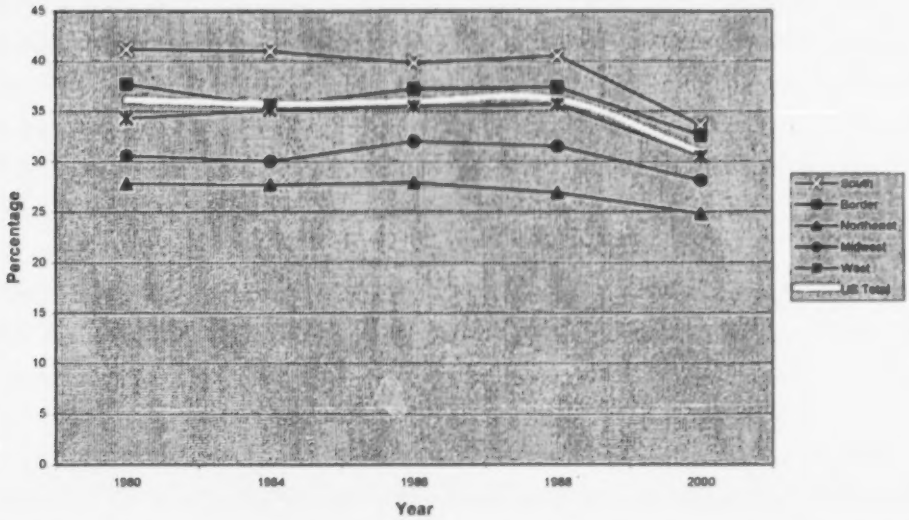
Figure 13
Percentage of Black Students in 90-100% Minority Schools by Region, 2000-01



Without exception, black exposure to white students across regions has been steadily falling since the late 1980s (see Figure 14). In the Northeast, where nearly 7 out of 10 students are white, the average black student goes to a school that is only 25% white. While black students in the South are still exposed to a larger percentage of white students in their schools than in any other region, this is rapidly changing. The percent of whites in school of the average black student dropped eight percentage points in the last two decades, seven in the last twelve years alone. By 2000, the average black student in the South attends schools that are only one-third white.

Figure 14
Percentage of White students in School Attended by the Average Black Student by Region, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation: 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

Latino Segregation

As it has nationally throughout the last third of a century, Latino segregation continues to increase in every region.

Regionally, while there are more black students than Latino students in all regions except the West, the share of Latino students in predominantly minority schools equals or surpasses that of the black students in three regions: South, Northeast, and West, where more than three out of every four attends predominantly minority schools and over one in three attends intensely segregated schools in these regions. In 2000, by several measures, Latinos are the most segregated in the Northeast and West.

In the South, Northeast, and West, nearly 80% of Latino students attend predominantly minority schools. Even Latinos in regions with small Latino populations are experiencing increasing isolation since 1988. As seen in Figure 15, there has been an increase of almost twenty percentage points in the proportion of Latino students in the Border region attending predominantly minority schools.

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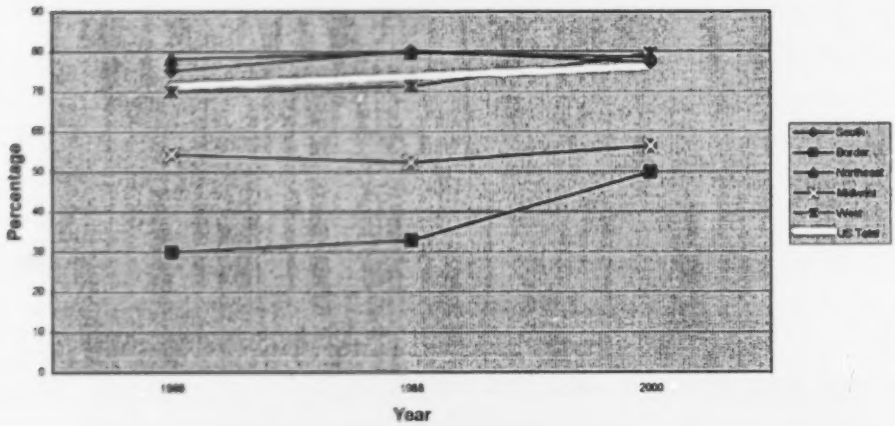
Figure 15
Percentage of Latino Students in Predominantly Minority Schools by Region, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

Almost 37% of Latino students are in 90-100% minority schools in the West, an area of the country where one out of every three students attending public school is Latino. The Northeast, an area where two out of three students are white, has the highest percentage of Latino students in intensely segregated schools: over 45%. In contrast, slightly more than one-eighth of Latino students in the Border region are enrolled in 90-100% minority schools. The only region to show no increase, the share of Latino students in the Midwest in intensely segregated schools in 2000 was 25 percent (see Table 11).

Table 11
Percentage of Latino Students in 90-100% Minority Schools by Region, 1988-2000

Region	1988	2000	Change 1988-2000
South	37.9	39.5	+1.6
Border	8.9	13.4	+4.5
Northeast	44.2	45.3	+1.1
Midwest	24.9	24.9	0
West	27.5	36.7	+9.2
US Total	33.1	37.4	+4.3

Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data, 1988-89; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

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This isolation is even more extreme when considering the percentage of Latino students attending 99%-100% minority schools. Nationally, almost one in nine Latino students go to schools that are less than 1% white, a slight increase from 1988 (see Table 12). In the South and West, about 1 in 10 Latino students attend schools that are 99-100% minority; in the Northeast, 1 in 6 Latinos are attending such schools.

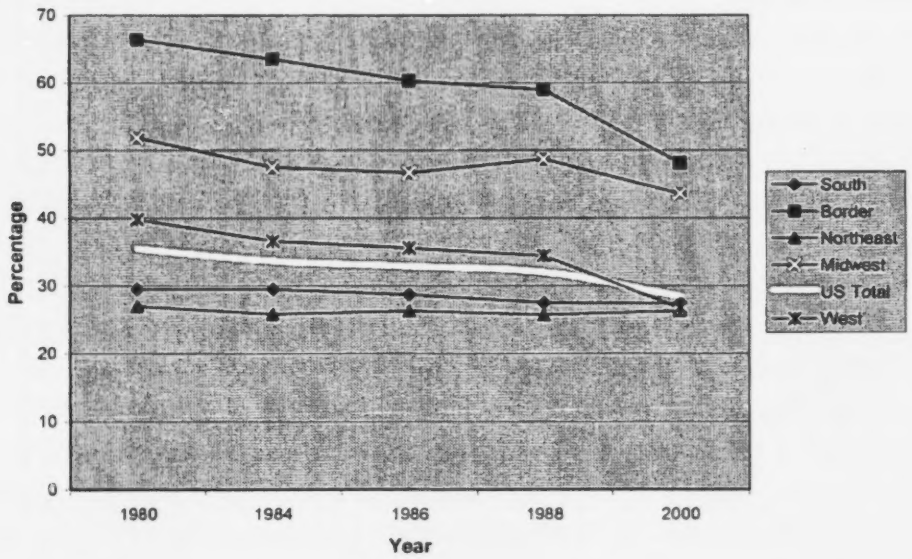
Table 12
Percentage of Latino Students in 99-100% Minority Schools by Region, 1988-2000

Region	1988	2000	Change 1988-2000
South	7.9	9.1	+1.2
Border		4.5	--
Northeast	19.6	16.3	-3.3
Midwest	2.9	4.6	+1.7
West	8.4	11.6	+3.2
US Total	9.9	10.8	+0.9

Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data, 1988-89; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

Nationally and in every region, the school of a typical Latino student is less than one-third white. Across all regions, there are less white students in the school of the average Latino student than in 1980. In the South, West, and Northeast—the three regions of the country with the most Latino students—the average Latino student attends schools that are only one-fourth white. (Figure 16) Despite their relatively small proportion of public school enrollment, Latino students in the Border and Midwest states, on average, attend schools that are almost one-half white. The typical Latino in the Northeast, since 1980, has attended schools with the smallest percentage of white students in the student body, although the West is rapidly approaching comparable levels of segregation. In the West, the typical Latino is in a school that is almost 75% non-white, a drop of thirteen percentage points in the last two decades.

Figure 16
Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Average Latino Student, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation: 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

Although the overall percentage of black and Latino students in intensely segregated minority schools in 2000 was identical (see Figure 4 in previous section), there are notable regional differences between Latinos and blacks. The Border and Midwest regions, two areas with relatively small Latino populations, have much larger percentages of black students in 90-100% minority schools than Latinos. By contrast, in the two regions with the largest percentages of Latino students, the South and West, a higher proportion of Latino students are in intensely segregated schools than black students. Overall, the Northeast has the highest percentage of both Latino and black students in intensely segregated schools (see Figure 17).

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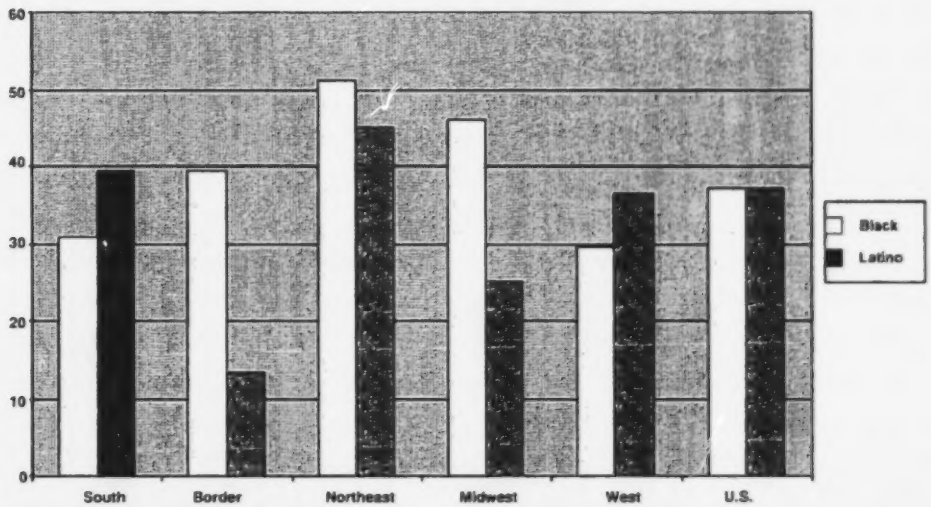
Figure 17
Percentage of Black and Latino Students in 90-100% Minority Schools by Region, 2000-01



STATE TRENDS

While the minority public school population in the U.S. continues to grow, overall, white students in most parts of the country still remain isolated from any significant minority presence in their schools (see Table 4 above).[1] There are, however, now eleven states where white students have, on average, at least 20% minority students in their classes (Table 13). Seven of these eleven are located in the South and another is a Border state, all places where students once attended legally mandated segregated schools. The high number of Southern states where white students experience significant exposure to minority students as seen in Table 13, combined with the fact that none of the Northern or Midwest states have similar levels of exposure, may suggest the lasting impact of court-ordered desegregation plans to produce interracial contact in these schools.

Table 13
States with Highest White Exposure to Black and Latino Students, 2000-01

State	% Blacks and Latinos in Schools of Typical White
New Mexico	41.9
Delaware	32.5
South Carolina	31.7
Texas	31.5
California	30.8
Mississippi	29.2
Florida	28.4
Louisiana	27.8
Nevada	26.3
North Carolina	26.1
Georgia	25.5
Arizona	24.8
Virginia	21.8

Black Segregation

Although the black student population is growing nationally, there are a number of states with relatively small proportions of black students. In 2000, there were sixteen states with less than five percent of black students (Table 14). Most of these states are in northern New England or the Western and Midwestern regions. Except for the northern New England states, there was considerable isolation for minority students. Most of the

[1] It should be noted that, due to the unique racial composition of Alaska and Hawaii, they have been excluded from the state comparisons. Additionally, Washington D.C. is not included in any state comparisons.

Western states had large proportions of black students in predominantly minority schools, partly due to large Latino enrollments. Over half of the black students in New Mexico and Arizona attended schools that were majority nonwhite. Two Western states (i.e. Arizona and New Mexico) have more than 5% of their black students in intensely segregated (90-100% minority) schools. Even though only 4.6% of Arizona's school children are black, 13.2% of these students attend such schools.

Table 14
Percentage of Black Students in States with Low Black Public School Enrollment, 2000-01[2]

	% Black	% in 50-100% Minority Schools	% in 90-100% Minority Schools
Arizona	4.6	55.5	13.2
Iowa	4.0	12.1	0.0
Idaho	0.7	1.6	0.0
Maine	1.2	0.0	0.0
Montana	0.6	5.8	0.0
North Dakota	1.0	0.1	0.1
New Hampshire	1.1	0.0	0.0
New Mexico	2.4	60.2	6.6
Oregon	2.9	38.4	1.6
South Dakota	1.2	3.9	0.1
Utah	1.0	15.6	0.0
Vermont	1.1	0.0	0.0
West Virginia	4.3	8.8	0.0
Wyoming	1.2	3.6	0.0

During the latter part of the 1990s, there was an increase in black segregation in all but two states; the highest levels of black segregation in 2000 were found in Illinois, Michigan, New York, and California (Table 15). The only two states not showing increases in segregation since 1996, Michigan and New Jersey, were highly segregated and showed virtually no change. Delaware had the largest decline in percent of students who were white in schools of the average black student, likely a result of the 1995 court decision ending the metropolitan Wilmington desegregation court order.[3] Other states showing larger decreases in integration from 1996-2000 are several Southern and Border states including Florida, Missouri, and North Carolina. These are states that had long-running school desegregation orders requiring desegregation across metropolitan areas but, in many of these districts, desegregation court orders were terminated during the 1990s.

[2] All states in this table have less black percentage that is less than 5% of total enrollment.

[3] In Delaware, the courts merged eleven school districts into a single metropolitan district including most of the public school students in Delaware. Once desegregation occurred, the district was then split into four districts. In 1995, the school systems were declared unitary. See Unitary Chart in Appendix A.

Despite declines, most of the states with the highest levels of white students in schools of the average black are in the South and Border regions. The high exposure of black students to white students in some of these states, e.g. Kentucky, where the average black student attends a school that is two-thirds white lends itself to the argument that desegregation efforts of the past thirty-five years continue to have an impact, regardless of recent declines. In fact, Kentucky, which has had the highest level of black-white exposure since 1980, consolidated the city and county school systems of metro Louisville in order to create significant desegregation. It remains under a desegregation plan today.

Table 15
Changes in the Percentage of White Students in Schools Attended by the Average Black Student by State, 1970-2000

	% White Students in School of Average Black				Change		
	1970	1980	1996	2000	1970-80	1980-2000	1996-2000
Alabama	32.7	37.9	31.9	30.2	5.2	-7.7	-1.7
Arkansas	42.5	46.5	40.3	37.7	4.0	-8.8	-2.6
California	25.6	27.7	25.0	23.2	2.1	-4.5	-1.8
Connecticut	44.1	40.3	34.0	33.6	-3.8	-6.7	-0.4
Delaware	46.5	68.5	59.8	54.0	22.0	-14.5	-5.8
Florida	43.2	50.6	38.4	35.4	7.4	-15.2	-3.0
Georgia	35.1	38.3	33.2	30.8	3.2	-7.5	-2.4
Illinois	14.6	19.0	19.8	19.2	4.4	0.2	-0.6
Indiana	31.7	38.7	46.0	42.9	7.0	4.2	-3.1
Kentucky	49.4	74.3	69.1	65.7	24.9	-8.6	-3.4
Louisiana	30.8	32.8	29.0	27.0	2.0	-5.8	-2.0
Maryland	30.3	35.4	26.0	24.0	5.1	-11.4	-2.0
Massachusetts	47.5	50.4	41.9	39.1	2.9	-11.3	-2.8
Michigan	21.9	22.5	19.8	20.0	0.6	-2.5	0.2
Mississippi	29.6	29.2	27.7	26.2	-0.4	-3.0	-1.5
Missouri	21.4	34.1	37.7	34.4	12.7	0.3	-3.3
New Jersey	32.4	26.4	25.2	25.7	-6.0	-0.7	0.5
New York	29.2	23.0	18.7	17.9	-6.2	-5.1	-0.8
North Carolina	49.0	54.0	47.2	43.3	5.0	-10.7	-3.9
Ohio	28.4	43.2	36.1	33.1	14.8	-10.1	-3.0
Oklahoma	42.1	57.6	45.9	43.0	15.5	-14.6	-2.9
Pennsylvania	27.8	29.3	30.4	29.3	1.5	0.0	-1.1
Rhode Island	NA	65.8	46.3	41.7	NA	-24.1	-4.6
South Carolina	41.2	42.7	40.5	38.9	1.5	-3.8	-1.6
Tennessee	29.2	38.0	33.5	32.3	8.8	-5.7	-1.2
Texas	30.7	35.2	31.4	28.7	4.5	-6.5	-2.7
Virginia	41.5	47.4	44.2	42.4	5.9	-5.0	-1.8
Wisconsin	25.7	44.5	32.0	29.7	18.8	-14.8	-2.3

Source: DBS Corp., 1982;1987;1996-97, 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data Public School Universe.

Although, as discussed above, white students in some states (particularly those in the South) are experiencing substantial exposure to blacks and Latinos, most black students continue to have relatively small proportions of white students in their schools. The twenty states in which the lowest percentages of white students in schools of the average black student are in the South or Border regions. Most of the ten most segregated states (90-100% minority) are in the Northeast. Among states with small percentages of black students, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island now number among the states in which black exposure to whites is lowest. Eight other states, including the three most segregated states for black students (i.e. New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania), are in the Northeast and Midwest regions, areas that have relatively smaller proportions of black students. In addition in five states (Michigan, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, and Maryland) at least half of black students are in intensely segregated minority schools. Six of nine Northeastern states have among the highest percentages of black students in predominantly minority, and five of nine have among the most intensely segregated minority schools. Notably, there are few Western states among any of the states with high measures of black student segregation.

Many of the states that were the most segregated in 1986 for black students remain so in 2000 as well. Of the ten states in 1986 that had the lowest black-white exposure rate, nine are among top ten list of states in 2000 with lowest white percentage in schools of average black. The tenth, Alabama, has the twelfth lowest percent in 2000.

Table 16
Most Segregated States for Black Students, 2000-01

Rank	% In Majority White Schools		Rank	% in 90-100% Minority Schools		Rank	% Whites in School of Typical Black	
1	New York	13.6	1	Michigan	62.5	1	New York	17.9
2	California	14.1	2	New York	60.8	2	Illinois	19.2
3	Michigan	17.6	3	Illinois	60.1	3	Michigan	20.0
4	Illinois	18.2	4	New Jersey	50.0	4	California	23.2
5	Maryland	21.3	5	Maryland	50.0	5	Maryland	24.0
6	Mississippi	22.6	6	Pennsylvania	48.3	6	New Jersey	25.7
7	Louisiana	23.1	7	Alabama	43.1	7	Mississippi	26.2
8	New Jersey	24.3	8	Wisconsin	42.9	8	Louisiana	27.0
9	Texas	24.3	9	Louisiana	42.2	9	Texas	28.7
10	Wisconsin	27.1	10	Mississippi	41.3	10	Pennsylvania	29.3
11	Georgia	27.7	11	California	37.1	11	Wisconsin	29.7
12	Connecticut	28.2	12	Texas	37.0	12	Alabama	30.2
13	Pennsylvania	28.9	13	Missouri	36.2	13	Georgia	30.8
14	Ohio	29.4	14	Georgia	35.4	14	Ohio	33.1
15	Alabama	29.6	15	Ohio	35.1	15	Connecticut	33.6
16	Missouri	32.5	16	Connecticut	32.2	16	Missouri	34.4
17	Massachusetts	32.5	17	Florida	30.6	17	Florida	35.4
18	Arkansas	32.7	18	Massachusetts	24.6	18	Arkansas	37.7
19	Rhode Island	35.4	19	Indiana	21.3	19	South Carolina	38.9
20	Florida	35.6	20	Colorado	20.0	20	Massachusetts	39.1

Latino Segregation

Latino student enrollment has continued to increase during the 1990s, particularly in the Western states where there was the greatest change in the exposure of Latino students to whites. From 1996 to 2000, the exposure of Latinos to white students in almost every state fell (Table 17), with the greatest changes in Nevada and California.

Table 17
Changes in the Percentage of White Students in Schools Attended by the Average Latino Student by State, 1970-2000

	1970	1980	1996	2000	Change 1970-80	Change 1980-2000	Change 1996-2000
Arizona	45.5	43.5	36.4	32.6	-2.0	-10.9	-3.8
California	54.4	35.9	23.5	21.0	-18.5	-14.9	-2.5
Colorado	56.8	59.0	51.2	46.3	2.2	-12.7	-4.9
Connecticut	47.8	37.9	35.1	35.7	-9.9	-2.2	0.6
Florida	46.4	35.3	33.9	32.7	-11.1	-2.6	-1.2
Illinois	50.0	36.4	30.0	28.7	-13.6	-7.7	-1.3
Massachusetts	NA	52.6	42.2	39.6	NA	-13.0	-2.6
Nevada	83.7	75.3	50.6	41.9	-8.4	-33.4	-8.7
New Jersey	38.2	29.6	29.3	28.8	-8.6	-0.8	-0.5
New Mexico	36.9	32.6	30.2	27.5	-4.3	-5.1	-2.7
New York	21.6	20.8	18.1	18.4	-0.8	-2.4	0.3
Texas	31.1	35.1	24.2	22.5	4.0	-12.6	-1.7
Wyoming	75.3	82.8	83.0	81.9	7.5	-0.9	-1.1

Source: The Next Generation; 1996-97; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

While states such as California and Texas have experienced an explosion of Latino students due to immigration and higher birth rates, the growing isolation of Latino students cannot be completely explained by demographic factors. The three states with the largest Latino enrollments—California, Texas, and New York—are the most segregated states for Latinos, by all three measures (Table 18). The Northeast, however, which is only one-eighth Latino, is rapidly becoming the most segregated region for Latinos. In fact, half of the ten states with the largest percentages of Latino students in intensely segregated minority schools are located in this region.

As with black student segregation, the majority of the states that were most segregated for Latinos in 1986 remain the most segregated for Latinos in 2000 (Table 18). Rhode Island, however, a state that ranked in the top ten on all three measures of Latino segregation in 2000, was not on any list of the most segregated states for Latinos in 1986. In 1986, 41.8% of Rhode Island's Latino students went to a majority white school; today, only 20% attend such schools.

Table 18
Most Segregated States for Latino Students, 2000-2001

Rank	% of Latinos in Majority White Schools		Rank	% of Latinos in 90-100% Minority Schools		Rank	% Whites in School of Typical Latino	
1	New York	13.3	1	New York	58.7	1	New York	18.4
2	California	13.3	2	Texas	46.9	2	California	21.0
3	Texas	16.6	3	California	44.0	3	Texas	22.5
4	New Mexico	17.4	4	New Jersey	40.7	4	New Mexico	27.5
5	Rhode Island	20.0	5	Illinois	40.0	5	Illinois	28.7
6	Illinois	25.5	6	Florida	30.0	6	New Jersey	28.8
7	New Jersey	25.8	7	Pennsylvania	27.6	7	Rhode Island	30.5
8	Arizona	28.2	8	Connecticut	27.1	8	Arizona	32.6
9	Florida	29.3	9	Arizona	25.6	9	Florida	32.7
10	Connecticut	29.6	10	Rhode Island	25.4	10	Connecticut	35.7
11	Maryland	31.1	11	New Mexico	24.8	11	Maryland	36.0
12	Massachusetts	35.2	12	Maryland	21.1	12	Massachusetts	39.6
13	Pennsylvania	35.3	13	Massachusetts	18.8	13	Pennsylvania	40.3
14	Nevada	39.1	14	Wisconsin	16.7	14	Nevada	41.9
15	Georgia	44.5	15	Colorado	15.2	15	Georgia	45.8
16	Colorado	46.0	16	Georgia	12.6	16	Colorado	46.3
17	Louisiana	47.8	17	Indiana	11.2	17	Louisiana	48.8
18	Virginia	49.6	18	Louisiana	10.3	18	Virginia	49.5
19	Kansas	52.7	19	Michigan	10.3	19	Delaware	52.4
20	Washington	55.3	20	Nevada	8.3	20	North Carolina	52.7

DISTRICT TRENDS

In an earlier report released August 2002,[1] The Civil Rights Project examined the changing exposure of whites, black, and Latino students to students of other races at the district level. The study found that despite the growing diversity of the school-age population, the data show an overwhelming trend towards school district resegregation. In this section, we further examine the changing racial composition and enrollments of the largest school systems: central city, countywide metropolitan, and suburban.[2]

Central City Districts

In 2000, 27 central city districts had more than 60,000 students. The last two decades have seen a continuation of the decline of large central city districts in the North and the Midwest. In fact, most of these large urban districts are found in the South (nine) and West (eight). In each of the Northeastern central city districts, roughly one-sixth of the student enrollment is white, a factor that results in the high levels of segregation in the northeast region seen in a previous section of this report (Black and Latino Segregation—State Level).

One-tenth of all public school students are found in the largest central city districts, including over one-fifth of blacks and Latinos. By contrast, less than one in forty white students attend these central city schools. Latino students are now more numerous than students of any other race in the largest central city districts. In fact, over one in four Latino students are found in the largest urban districts (Table 19).

Minority exposure rates to white students fell consistently across almost all large districts, including in the largest city districts from 1986 to 2000. In most central city districts, the average black student is exposed to a lower percentage of white students in his or her school than the average Latino student. In more than half of these districts (fourteen), black exposure to white students is extremely low. Of the ten largest school districts, only the typical black student in San Diego attends a school with more than 10% white students. There are a few Western districts that have relatively high black-white exposure rates, but these districts (e.g., Albuquerque, Salt Lake City, and Tucson) all have at least 40% white students and few black students. Despite the large Latino population in these urban districts, there are fewer in which the average Latino student attends intensely racially isolated schools. In six districts, however, there are less than 10% white students in the schools of the average Latino students.

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[1] Frankenberg, Erica and Chungmei Lee (2002). Race in American Public Schools, Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project.

[2] The school districts in this section of the report are all school systems with 2000 enrollment greater than 60,000, however, since Hawaii only has one school district it has not been included. Because of the different demographic and legal realities of school systems in accomplishing interracial exposure, we have divided the largest districts into: central city districts (school systems that only include large cities and which were limited f); countywide metropolitan districts (which include both the central city and suburban areas of a metropolitan area); and suburban districts (systems that include suburban areas of a metro area).

Table 19
Enrollment of the Largest Central City School Districts by Race/Ethnicity, 2000-01

City	Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian	Exposure of Minorities to Whites	
						Black	Latino
New York	1,066,516	15.3	34.9	37.8	11.7	6.6	9.3
Los Angeles	721,346	9.9	12.8	70.8	6.3	8.0	6.1
Chicago	435,261	9.6	52.0	34.9	3.3	3.0	10.9
Miami-Dade	368,356	11.3	31.2	56.2	1.2	6.8	10.9
Houston	208,462	10.0	32.1	55.0	2.9	6.3	6.9
Philadelphia	201,190	16.7	65.1	13.1	4.9	8.7	15.3
Detroit	164,178	3.7	91.0	4.1	0.9	2.1	20.0
Dallas	161,548	7.8	35.9	54.5	1.4	5.1	6.7
San Diego	141,804	27.0	16.2	38.5	17.8	19.2	19.3
Memphis	115,995	12.3	84.8	1.7	1.2	7.4	20.8
Baltimore	99,859	10.8	87.5	0.7	0.6	5.9	30.8
Milwaukee	97,985	18.7	60.8	15.1	4.4	13.1	19.3
Albuquerque	85,276	40.0	3.8	49.6	1.9	39.3	27.5
Fort Worth	79,661	21.4	30.9	45.4	2.1	15.8	14.7
Fresno	79,007	20.2	11.6	49.2	18.1	18.7	15.7
Austin	77,816	33.7	15.7	47.8	2.5	19.3	22.0
New Orleans	77,610	3.9	92.7	1.2	2.1	2.4	10.3
Cleveland	73,894	19.3	71.3	8.4	0.7	9.7	34.8
Salt Lake City	71,328	77.0	1.3	14.2	6.3	71.3	70.4
Denver	70,847	22.0	20.3	53.1	3.3	19.4	14.6
Columbus	69,694	37.1	58.4	1.8	2.4	26.0	38.1
Washington D.C.	68,925	4.5	84.6	9.2	1.6	2.1	5.6
Boston	63,024	14.7	48.4	27.4	9.0	11.2	12.8
El Paso	62,325	15.2	4.8	78.5	1.2	20.9	12.5
Tucson	61,869	41.5	6.7	45.3	2.5	45.6	29.2
Santa ANA	60,517	3.6	1.0	91.4	3.9	9.7	2.7
U.S. Total	10.5	2.7	22.8	26.2	14.8		

Enrollment in central city districts has fallen an average of 10% since 1967, with especially large declines in many former Border region cities (for example, Detroit had a decline of 44%) (Table 20). Some districts have seen enormous increases in enrollment during this same thirty-three year period, however, and in fact, some districts in the South and West have nearly doubled in size. Santa Ana, California's student body, for example, increased 113% from 1967-2000.

However, this pattern of overall decline in enrollment in the last one-third century obscures two opposite trends. Enrollment in the large central city districts fell almost 20% from 1967-1986. Since 1986, however, this trend has reversed itself, particularly in Southern and Western city districts. In fact, from 1986-2000, there has been growth of over 12% on average in all districts in Table 20. Enrollment in districts such as Miami-

Dade and Santa Ana have increased over 50% since 1986; however, Washington, D.C. and Baltimore districts have both continued to have substantial declines.

Table 20—Enrollment of Largest Central City Districts from 1967-2000

City	1967	1974	1976	1986	2000	1967-2000 change	% change (1967-2000)	1986-2000 change	% change (1986-2000)
New York	1,101,804	1,095,388	1,076,325	946,659	1,066,516	-35,288	-3.2	119,857	12.7
Los Angeles	652,608	602,755	601,703	587,362	721,346	68,738	10.5	133,984	22.8
Chicago	574,801	530,191	520,742	427,570	435,261	-139,540	-24.3	7,691	1.8
Miami-Dade	220,011	246,342	240,023	243,690	368,356	148,345	67.4	124,666	51.2
Houston	256,459	211,369	209,843	194,573	208,462	-47,997	-18.7	13,889	7.1
Philadelphia	279,907	266,500	260,857	187,139	201,190	-78,717	-28.1	14,051	7.5
Detroit	293,000	256,300	238,209	159,669	164,178	-128,822	-44.0	4,509	2.8
Dallas	157,110	149,510	138,926	132,780	161,548	4,438	2.8	28,768	21.7
San Diego	118,934	121,278	1,199,988	108,254	141,804	22,870	19.2	33,550	31.0
Memphis	123,465	115,857	121,155	113,151	115,995	-7,470	-6.1	2,844	2.5
Baltimore	191,997	173,192	159,781	118,081	99,859	-92,138	-48.0	-18,222	-15.4
Milwaukee	128,170	118,474	108,798	90,234	97,985	-30,185	-23.6	7,751	8.6
Albuquerque	77,387	84,043	81,137	78,323	85,276	7,889	10.2	6,953	8.9
Fort Worth	84,005	75,834	71,234	66,925	79,661	-4,344	-5.2	12,736	19.0
Fresno	63,669	55,246	54,118	59,112	79,007	15,338	24.1	19,895	33.7
Austin	39,644	NA	NA	60,899	77,816	38,172	96.3	16,917	27.8
New Orleans	108,861	93,927	92,202	84,415	77,610	-31,251	-28.7	-6,805	-8.1
Cleveland	152,038	132,029	119,520	75,836	73,894	-78,144	-51.4	-1,942	-2.6
Salt Lake City	37,325	NA	NA	72,442	71,328	34,003	91.1	-1,114	-1.5
Denver	94,995	79,670	74,783	60,290	70,847	-24,148	-25.4	10,557	17.5
Columbus	107,413	97,816	96,993	65,570	69,694	-37,719	-35.1	4,124	6.3
Washington DC	148,911	130,926	125,058	84,630	68,925	-79,986	-53.7	-15,705	-18.6
San Antonio	78,644	68,509	65,475	60,820	63,739	-14,905	-19.0	2,919	4.8
Boston	91,608	85,826	73,782	60,166	63,024	-28,584	-31.2	2,858	4.8
El Paso	59,476	63,332	64,531	61,615	62,325	2,849	4.8	710	1.2
Tucson	52,091	63,160	59,627	55,544	61,869	9,778	18.8	6,325	11.4
Santa ANA	28,398	26,938	28,309	37,348	60,517	321,19	113.1	23,169	62.0
Total	5,215,689	4,848,965	5,789,335	4,194,929	4,848,032	-491,913	-9.4	528,847	12.6
Avg.	208,628	210,825	251,710	167,797	179,557	-19,677	-9.4	21,154	12.6

Source: Orfield and Monfort, Status of School Desegregation, and 2000-01 Common Core of Data

The enrollment in most central cities has become much more nonwhite since 1967. Sixteen of the twenty-six districts in Table 21 had white majorities in 1967; at that time only Washington, D.C. had less than 10% white students. In most large urban districts in 2000, the white enrollment is less than 25% of the total, and only Salt Lake City has a white majority. In fact, the five largest districts have only 10-15% white students. The central city districts that have larger white proportions of the student population (e.g., Albuquerque, Austin, Tucson, etc.) are cities located predominantly in the Western states and in Texas. The black proportion of the total enrollment in the large urban districts has grown modestly since 1967. Of the largest five city districts (Table 21), all but one has more than one third. Ten districts have black majorities. There is also a growing proportion of Latino and Asian students in these school districts.

Table 21--Change in Percent of Black and White Enrollment in Largest Central City Districts, 1967-2000

City	WHITE							BLACK						
	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000
New York	48	30	26	22	15	-33	-11	30	38	38	38	35	5	-3
Los Angeles	55	37	24	18	10	-45	-14	22	24	23	18	13	-9	-10
Chicago	41	25	19	14	10	-31	-9	52	60	60	57	52	0	-8
Miami-Dade	64	41	32	24	11	-53	-21	24	28	30	33	31	7	1
Houston	54	34	25	17	10	-44	-15	33	43	45	43	32	-1	-13
Philadelphia	40	32	29	25	17	-23	-12	58	62	63	63	65	7	2
Detroit	41	19	12	9	4	-37	-8	58	79	86	89	91	33	5
Dallas	63	38	30	21	8	-55	-22	30	47	49	49	36	6	-13
San Diego	76	66	56	44	27	-49	-29	11	15	15	18	16	5	1
Memphis	48	29	24	24	12	-36	-12	52	71	75	76	85	33	10
Baltimore	36	24	21	19	11	-25	-10	64	75	77	79	88	24	11
Milwaukee	73	56	45	36	19	-54	-26	24	37	46	53	61	37	15
Albuquerque	61	52	53	55	40	-21	-13	2	3	3	3	4	2	1
Fort Worth	69	51	44	37	21	-48	-23	25	35	37	36	31	9	-6
Fresno	70	62	54	42	20	-50	-34	9	11	12	11	12	3	0
Austin	81	NA	53	47	34	-47	-19	19	NA	19	20	16	3	-3
New Orleans	34	16	12	8	4	-30	-8	66	80	84	87	93	27	9
Cleveland	43	38	28	25	19	-24	-9	56	58	67	69	71	15	4
Salt Lake City	92	85		93	77	-15		1	2		0	1	0	
Denver	66	48	41	37	22	-44	-19	14	21	23	22	22	8	-1
Columbus	73	67	59	52	37	-36	-22	26	32	39	45	58	32	19
Washington DC	8	4	4	4	5	-3	1	92	95	94	91	85	-7	-9
San Antonio	28	15		8	37	9		15	16		13	7	-8	
Boston	73	44	35	26	15	-58	-20	26	43	46	47	48	22	2
El Paso	43	33	28	23	15	-28	-13	3	3	4	5	5	2	1
Tucson	68	65	62	57	42	-26	-20	5	5	5	6	7	2	2
Santa ANA	65	36		12	4	-61		7	9		3	1	-6	

Source: Orfield and Monfort, Status of School Desegregation, and 2000-01 Common Core of Data

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Countywide Metropolitan Districts

Most countywide metropolitan districts are found in the South. In 2000, sixteen countywide districts had enrollments greater than 60,000. Notably, almost half of these largest districts are in Florida.

The racial composition of the countywide metropolitan districts is more balanced than the central city districts (Table 22). Even though the largest metropolitan districts (those with more than 60,000 students) in aggregate contain only half the total enrollment of the largest central city districts discussed in the previous section, almost twice as many white students attend these schools. In contrast to the city districts in which more than half had less than 10% white enrollment, each of these countywide districts has at least 40% white students. With a few exceptions, there are substantial minority populations in these districts, as well. All districts also have more than 10% black students and six districts also have more than 10% Latino students.

Given the racial composition of countywide districts, it is not surprising that the white/non-white exposure indices for the countywide metropolitan districts are substantially higher than the central city districts. Both black and Latino students in every district in Table 22 attend schools that have, on average, at least 20% white students. The typical black student in six districts and the typical Latino student in eight districts attend majority white schools. Similar to the central city districts, the average Latino student in a metropolitan district attends a more integrated school than the average black student. The high exposure indices indicate that, on average, students in countywide metropolitan districts are attending rather integrated schools. However, as discussed above, the exposure of black students to whites has dropped in each of the selected metropolitan districts in the last 14 years. Further, the exposure of minority students to whites in some districts is much lower than their white enrollment, indicating racial stratification in these districts. An example of this is Mobile County, Alabama where black exposure to whites is only 22% despite a district-wide enrollment of over 47% white students.

Similar to the central city districts, there is a decline in both black exposure to whites and Latino exposure to whites in every large countywide metropolitan district since 1986. On average, there is a larger drop in Latino exposure than for blacks. This may be due to the fact that most of these countywide districts in the South were under court desegregation orders to integrate black students but not Latino students. In fact, several districts, in which court desegregation orders have been dismissed in the last decade, show particularly large drops in black white exposure. These districts include Broward County, Florida; Clark County, Nevada; Mobile County, Alabama; Hillsborough County, Florida; and Duval County, Florida.[2]

[2] See Unitary Chart in Appendix A

Table 22
Enrollment of the Countywide Metropolitan Districts by Race/Ethnicity , 2000-01

District	Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian	Exposure of Minorities to Whites	
						Black	Latino
Broward Co., FL	251,129	41.2	36.4	19.4	2.7	23.7	43.9
Clark Co, NV	231,654	49.9	13.9	28.8	6.6	40.2	37.0
Hillsborough Co., FL (Tampa)	164,270	51.8	24.1	21.6	2.2	39.5	45.3
Palm Beach, FL	153,825	49.6	30.1	17.7	2.1	31.1	43.1
Orange Co., FL	150,681	44.1	29.3	22.8	3.5	28.8	42.3
Duval County, FL	125,744	50.2	43.3	3.7	2.7	36.0	55.7
Pinellas County, FL	113,017	72.7	19.1	4.9	3.0	64.9	69.9
Charlotte, NC	103,336	46.6	43.0	5.5	4.4	37.7	33.9
Wake Co., NC	98,950	62.9	28.3	4.6	3.9	57.0	58.0
Jefferson Co., KY	92,026	62.0	35.1	1.5	1.3	58.0	55.2
Brevard Co., FL	70,596	79.2	14.3	4.5	1.6	67.9	76.4
Nashville, TN	67,294	47.6	44.5	4.3	3.3	41.1	46.2
Mobile County, AL	64,703	47.2	50.1	0.6	1.7	22.1	53.3
Guilford Co., NC	63,417	49.6	42.5	3.4	3.9	34.5	38.7
Volusia County, FL	61,340	73.9	15.7	9.1	1.1	60.5	66.3
Seminole Co., FL	60,869	70.1	14.1	12.6	2.9	61.2	68.2
U.S. Total	4.7	3.8	7.4	4.5	4.2		

Enrollment in most of the countywide metropolitan districts has increased substantially since 1967. Every Florida district with 2000 enrollment greater than 60,000, for example, showed at least fifty percent increase in the last 33 years, with some districts more than doubling in size during that time period. (Table 23). Wake County, North Carolina experienced the largest growth, tripling in size since 1967. The five largest districts in 2000 have grown sharply since 1986, particularly the biggest two districts which have both approximately doubled in size in fourteen years. Only three districts showed a decline since 1967, with Louisville showing the largest decline.

It is worth noting the diverging enrollment trends between comparably-sized central city and countywide districts. Since 1967, the largest city districts have averaged a greater than ten percent decline in enrollment (e.g., Los Angeles, New York, etc). By contrast, only three countywide districts show declines during this same period (e.g., Jefferson, Nashville, and Mobile). Additionally, many show large enrollment increases that even the most rapidly growing city districts do not match.

Table 23
Enrollment of Largest Countywide Metropolitan Districts, 1967-2000

District	1967	1974	1976	1986	2000 Enrollment	Change (1967-2000)	% Change
Broward Co., FL	93,777	137,639	136,576	131,726	251,129	157,352	167.8
Clark Co, NV	62,967	NA	NA	95,023	231,654	168,687	267.9
Hillsborough Co., FL (Tampa)	94,641	114,855	114,911	115,373	164,270	69,629	73.6
Palm Beach, FL	59,080	70,766	70,900	84,680	153,825	94,745	160.4
Orange Co., FL	72,800	NA	NA	84,125	150,681	77,881	107.0
Duval County, FL	122,109	112,152	109,536	102,966	125,744	3,635	3.0
Pinellas County, FL	74,706	NA	NA	88,934	113,017	38,311	51.3
Charlotte, NC	78,176	77,596	79,731	72,876	103,336	25,160	32.2
Wake Co., NC	24,582	NA	NA	58,137	98,950	74,368	302.5
Jefferson Co., KY	137,392	NA	NA	93,128	92,026	-45,366	-33.0
Brevard Co., FL				48,154	70,596		
Nashville, TN	93,063	81,367	77,649	62,230	67,294	-25,769	-27.7
Mobile County, AL	77,480	64,373	65,419	68,482	64,703	-12,777	-16.5
Guilford Co., NC				23,927	63,417		
Volusia County, FL					61,340		
Seminole Co., FL				41,626	60,869		

Source: Orfield and Monfort, Status of School Desegregation, and 2000-01 Common Core of Data

Racial composition in the largest countywide metropolitan districts has become decidedly less white since 1967. Every major countywide district saw more than 10% decline in white percentage from 1967 to 2000-01, with some districts experiencing substantial loss of white students (e.g., Orange County). Four districts in Table 24 had a decline of one-third in white enrollment. During this same period, black enrollment has grown in every district.

Table 24— Change in Percent of Black and White Enrollment in Largest Countywide Metropolitan Districts, 1967-2000

DISTRICT	WHITE							BLACK					
	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change
Broward Co., FL	74	75	72	65	41	-33	-31	26	22	24	28	36	10
Clark Co, NV	84	NA	77	73	50	-34	-27	12	NA	12	15	14	2
Hillsborough Co., FL (Tampa)	80	76	75	69	52	-28	-23	20	20	20	21	24	4
Palm Beach, FL	71	64	63	62	50	-21	-13	28	30	29	27	30	2
Orange Co., FL	83	NA	72	67	44	-39	-28	17	NA	23	25	29	12
-Duval13	72	65	63	60	50	-22		28	33	36	36	43	15
Pinellas County, FL	84	83	82	80	73	-11	-9	16	16	17	18	19	3
Charlotte, NC	71	64	60	58	47	-24	-13	28	29	27	21	43	15
Wake Co., NC	NA	NA	NA	71	63			NA	NA	NA	27	28	
Jefferson Co., KY	96	75	72	69	62	-34	-10	4	25	27	30	35	31
Brevard Co., FL		87	84	83	79		-5		12	14	14	14	
NAshville, TN	76	69	65	63	48	-28	-17	24	30	34	34	45	21
Mobile County, AL	59	56	56	55	47	-12	-9	41	44	43	44	50	9
Guilford Co., NC				81	50						17	53	
Volusia County, FL		79	78		74		-4		21	20		16	
Seminole Co., FL				82	70						13	14	

Suburban districts

According to the 2000 Census data, racial and ethnic diversity in suburban areas has increased substantially since 1990.[3] A decade ago, minorities made up less than 20% of suburban populations; today they comprise 27 percent. In fact, much of suburban population gains during the last decade were due to minority population growth in these areas. The highest percentage of the black suburban population is mainly in white-black metro areas in the South, including some metro areas that have black proportions over one-quarter of the total population. There is less city-suburban segregation for blacks in most Southern metros than in Northern metros.[4]

One of the results of the growing suburban population is that there are five districts in Table 25 that have enrollments that are over 100,000. In 2000, of the racial composition of these large districts varied. In general, they are whiter than either metropolitan or central city districts. There are two suburban districts in the West, for example, with an enrollment that is at least three-quarters white (i.e., Jefferson county and Jordan County). There are also, however, two suburban districts that are more than three-fourths black (i.e., Prince George's county and Dekalb County).

Minority students in suburban districts are exposed to more white students than their counterparts in either countywide metropolitan districts or central city districts, likely due to their large proportion of white students in the district. Blacks, on average, have a higher percentage of white students present in their schools than Latino students. In over half of the largest suburban districts, black and Latino students attend schools that, on average, have a white majority. By contrast, only a third of the countywide metro districts and one central city district have such high minority exposure to whites. Yet, similar to urban and metropolitan districts discussed above, black and Latino exposure to whites has fallen in every suburban district since 1986. In fact, the districts with the most rapid resegregation for black and Latino students were large suburban districts including Gwinnett and Cobb Counties (Table 25).[5]

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[3] Frey, William. (2001) *Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity.* Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute.

[4] Ibid

[5] Frankenberg & Lee (2002). Supra note 22.

Table 25—Enrollment of the Largest Suburban Districts by Race/Ethnicity, 2000-01

District	Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian	Exposure of Minorities to Whites	
						Black	Latino
Fairfax Co., VA	156,412	60.8	10.7	12.9	15.3	50.7	46.7
Montgomery Co., MD	134,180	49.0	21.2	16.2	13.3	39	36.6
Prince George's Co., MD	133,723	11.4	77.2	7.5	3.3	9.1	8.4
Gwinnett Co., GA	110,075	64.2	16.6	10.4	8.8	49.4	43.5
Baltimore Co., MD	106,898	61.7	32.4	1.7	3.8	32.9	61.4
DeKalb Co., GA	95,958	12.7	77.3	6.0	3.9	7.4	15.6
Cobb Co., GA	95,781	65.8	23.7	6.9	3.4	45.3	44.0
Long Beach, CA	93,685	17.8	19.7	45.4	16.8	15.0	13.6
Jefferson Co., CO	87,703	82.5	1.4	12.1	3.2	76.0	71.8
Polk County, FL	79,463	63.5	23.9	11.9	0.9	60.7	56.2
Virginia Beach, VA	76,586	63.3	27.3	3.7	5.4	54.5	60.6
Anne Arundel Co., MD	74,491	75.1	19.6	2.3	2.7	56.5	60.4
Mesa, AZ	73,587	67.8	3.4	23.0	2.0	60.3	52.2
Jordan Co., UT	73,158	92.4	0.5	4.8	1.9	88.3	81.3
Fulton Co., GA	68,583	48.5	39.3	6.7	5.4	17.7	42.2
Cypress-Fairbanks, TX	63,497	58.4	10.0	23.4	7.9	53.5	48.3
U.S. Total	2.9	2.6	4.6	1.7	4.5		

Suburban district growth is also more modest than that of countywide districts (Table 26). However, in contrast to the city districts' decline, most suburban districts have grown--and in some districts, substantially-- in the last 33 years. Cobb County, Georgia experienced the largest growth with a 54% increase since 1967.[6]

Table 26—Enrollment of Largest Suburban Districts, 1967-2000

District	1967	1974	1976	1986	2000	*Change* 1967-2000	% Change	Change 1986-2000	Change 86-00 %
Fairfax Co., VA	107,990	NA	NA	131,945	156,412	48,422	44.8	24,467	18.5
Montgomery Co., MD	116,019	NA	NA	99,161	134,180	18,161	15.7	35,019	35.3
Prince George's Co., MD	136,463	NA	NA	102,987	133,723	-2,740	-2.0	30,736	29.8
Gwinnett Co., GA	NA	NA	NA	51,984	110,075	NA	NA	NA	NA
Baltimore Co., MD	118,349	NA	NA	76,569	106,898	-11,451	-9.7	30,329	39.6
DeKalb Co., GA	77,559	NA	NA	71,668	95,958	18,399	23.7	24,290	33.9
Cobb Co., GA	38,771	NA	NA	62,042	95,781	57,010	147.0	33,739	54.4
Long Beach, CA	73,029	60,489	58,518	65,010	93,685	20,656	28.3	28,675	44.1
Jefferson Co., CO	NA	NA	NA	75,745	87,703	NA	NA	NA	NA
Polk County, FL	51,202	NA	NA	59,427	79,463	28,261	55.2	20,036	33.7
Virginia Beach, VA	38,652	NA	NA	62,662	76,586	37,934	98.1	13,924	22.2
Anne Arundel Co., MD	62,001	NA	NA	63,808	74,491	12,490	20.1	10,683	16.7
Mesa, AZ	NA	NA	NA	55,963	73,587	NA	NA	NA	NA
Jordan Co., UT	20,120	NA	NA	61,075	73,158	53,038	263.6	12,083	19.8
Fulton Co., GA	NA	NA	NA	NA	68,583	NA	NA	NA	NA
Cypress-Fairbanks, TX	NA	NA	NA	33,076	63,497	NA			

Source: Orfield and Monfort, Status of School Desegregation, and 2000-01 Common Core of Data

[6] It is interesting to note the enrollment increase since 1986 in almost all districts, suburban as well as city and countywide. Of the fifty-one districts for which we have 1986 data, only seven districts have a smaller enrollment in 2000 than in 1986.

In 1967, the largest suburban districts were almost entirely white. Not surprisingly, as the 2000 Census shows growing suburban diversity, there have been large drops in the white percentage in the large suburban districts (Table 27). Some of these districts now have a white minority (e.g., Prince George's County), and many have seen large declines in white population in the past two decades (e.g., Dekalb County).

Table 27—Change in Percent of Black and White Enrollment in Largest Suburban Districts, 1967-2000

Suburban	WHITE							BLACK						
	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000
Fairfax Co., VA	97	NA	86	78	61	-36	-25	3	NA	7	9	11	8	4
Montgomery Co., MD	96	NA	78	69	49	-47	-29	4	NA	12	15	21	17	9
Prince George's Co., MD	87	NA	46	32	11	-76	-35	13	NA	50	61	77	64	27
Gwinnett Co., GA	NA	NA	NA	95	64	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	3	16.6	NA	NA
Baltimore Co., MD	97	NA	86	83	62	-35	-24	3	NA	12	13	32	29	20
DeKalb Co., GA	95	NA	66	49	13	-82	-53	5	NA	32	47	77	72	45
Cobb Co., GA	96	NA	96	92	66	-30	-30	4	NA	3	6	24	20	21
Long Beach, CA	86	68	53	38	18	-68	-35	7	15	19	18	20	13	1
Jefferson Co., CO	NA	NA	NA	91	62	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1	1.4	NA	0
Polk County, FL	77	NA	77	75	63	-14	-14	23	NA	21	22	23	0	2
Virginia Beach, VA	89	NA	85	80	63	-26	-22	11	NA	11	14	27	16	16
Anne Arundel Co., MD	86	NA	84	83	75	-11	-9	14	NA	14	14	20	6	6
Mesa, AZ	NA	NA	NA	86	68	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	3.4	NA	NA
Jordan Co., UT	100	NA	NA	95	92	-8	NA	0	NA	NA	0	51	NA	NA
Fulton Co., GA	NA	NA	NA	NA	49	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	39.3	NA	NA
Cypress-Fairbanks, TX	NA	NA	NA	78	59	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	7	10.0	NA	NA

Source: Orfield and Monfort, Status of School Desegregation, and 2000-01 Common Core of Data

Among the different districts, we find that:

1) There are vast differences in racial composition in 2000 between the different types of school systems: central city, countywide metropolitan, and suburban.
2) Enrollment has been increasing almost everywhere since the mid-1980s, but nowhere is growth more rapid than in countywide districts.
3) Prior to 1986, city districts had declining enrollment; most have modest increases since 1986. Much of the white/black enrollment changes have occurred since 1980—after desegregation plans would have been implemented; thus it is unlikely that the imposition of mandatory desegregation plans created the white flight in these large districts.
4) Finally, these data emphasize the success of countywide districts both in terms of substantial interracial exposure but also because of the increasing and racially diverse enrollments in these districts.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Civil rights goals have not been accomplished. The country has been going backward toward greater segregation in all parts of the country for more than a decade. Since the end of the Civil Rights era, there has been no significant leadership towards the goal of creating a successfully integrated society built on integrated schools and neighborhoods. The last constructive act by Congress on the issue of integrated schools and neighborhoods was the enactment of the federal desegregation aid program in 1972 (repealed by the Reagan Administration in 1981). The Supreme Court began limiting desegregation in key ways in 1974 and actively dismantling existing desegregation in 1991. With the exception of the Carter Administration, there has been no substantial executive branch enforcement of desegregation since the Johnson Administration. Although thousands of school districts (often in the suburbs) are facing new challenges of racially changing neighborhoods and communities, there has been extremely little research or technical assistance available for a third of a century. In the two largest educational innovations of the past two decades—standards-based reform and school choice—the issue of racial segregation and its consequences has been ignored. These trends seem to suggest that policy makers have been assuming one or more of the following three propositions.

1) Race does not matter. Separate schools are equal.
2) Civil Rights goals have been achieved. Integration is a reality and students have equal opportunity.
3) Desegregation failed. It was a well-meaning goal that could not be achieved.

None of these propositions is true. Race matters strongly. Racial segregation almost always accompanies segregation by poverty and many forms of related inequality. Levels of competition among students and parent support are much lower in schools with fewer resources. Qualified and experienced teachers often leave such schools.

Desegregation did not fail. In spite of a very brief period of serious enforcement of the law, it persisted and increased for decades. The desegregation era was a period in which minority high school graduations increased sharply and the racial test score gaps narrowed substantially until they began to widen again in the 1990s. Most Americans believe that desegregation has substantial benefits and say that more, not less, should be done to increase integrated education.[1]

The basic policy framework that is needed to increase integration in America's public schools could be built around the following principles:

1) Explicit recognition of integrated education as a basic educational goal and judicial recognition that integrated education is a compelling educational interest in a society going through a vast racial transformation.

2) A resistance to terminating desegregation plans.

[1] Gallup Poll Survey 1999.

3) Transformation of the transfer right in No Child Left Behind to a real choice of better integrated schools. The act gives children in schools judged to be failing the right to transfer, but often there are no transfer opportunities available, for instance in a poor urban system, that offer genuinely better opportunities. Obviously it is cynical to offer only transfers to other failing schools. The program should fund transfer only to schools that are clearly better and in any school, in whatever district, that has space for another student. We hope the Administration will avoid the soft racism of false expectations.

4) Prohibition of choice plans--magnets, charters, voluntary transfers, and charters--that increase segregation and a favoring of those that diminish it. Choice schools should be required to recruit students from all racial backgrounds, provide appropriate services for immigrant students, and provide free transportation to students who choose to come.

5) As public housing modernization continues with removal of high density housing, displaced families receiving rental subsidy certificates should be counseled about the quality of the schools in areas that they consider moving to and supported if they chose to move into neighborhoods and schools of other races. The great success of the Gautreaux program in Chicago and Moving to Opportunity programs elsewhere in moving poor families to suburban communicates with good schools should be replicated on a far larger scale.

6) Voluntary city-suburban transfer programs have worked effectively in several metropolitan areas. These will be increasingly necessary as well as inter-district magnet schools, if segments of suburban as well as central cities are to be able to offer real opportunity and help avoid neighborhood transition that is often sped by resegregating neighborhood schools.

7) Our recent national study of private school segregation[2] shows that private schools are even more segregated than public schools. Since they are not limited by geographic boundary lines and most of them are operated by religious groups committed to equality of opportunity, they should develop recruitment and other plans to increase and support diversity.

8) In cases where a school district is forbidden to continue its desegregation plan by a federal court, it is worth giving serious consideration to efforts to keep diversity by social and economic desegregation, which has been adopted by a few school districts. Although race and class are not the same thing, most highly segregated black and Latino schools have concentrated poverty. Ending concentrated poverty is a good educational goal in itself, likely to produce benefits. There has been little research on such plans so far and the record has been mixed, but it is certainly an option deserving systematic investigation.

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[2] Reardon & Yun, supra note 91.

Appendix A

Selected Unitary Status Rulings between 1990-2002[1]

STATE	NAME OF DISTRICT	YEAR UNITARY STATUS GRANTED OR DESEG. ORDER DISMISSED	CASE CITATION	COMMENTS
Alabama	Alexander City Board of Education	2002	2002 WL 31102679	Declared partially unitary for all factors (student assignment, faculty and administrative staff hiring, assignment and promotion, student discipline, extracurricular activities, dropout and graduation rates, and special education) except hiring and promotion of higher-level administrators. (Found partially unitary in the areas of transportation and facilities in 1998.) Court found the school district had primarily complied with 1998 consent decree.
Alabama	Auburn County Board of Education	2002	2002 WL237091 (M.D.Ala 2002)	Court found compliance with 1998 consent decree and declared fully unitary

[1] This chart does not include a number of unpublished decisions. Unpublished rulings declared many school districts unitary, including California's San Jose Unified School District, Florida's Broward, Pinnellas, and Polk Counties, Louisiana's Livingston Parish School System, Minnesota's Minneapolis City Schools, North Carolina's Franklin County School District, Tennessee's Hamilton County School Distirct, Texas' Fort Worth and Houston School Districts, Alabama's Mobile School District, and Virginia's Norfolk School District.

Alabama	Butler County Board of Education	2002	183 F.Supp.2d 1359 (M.D. Ala 2002)	Court found compliance with 1998 consent decree and declared fully unitary
Alabama	Gadsden City School District	2000	Unreported	Declared fully unitary.
Alabama	Lee County Board of Education	2002	2002 WL1268395 (M.D. Ala 2002)	Declared partially unitary for all factors except faculty assignment. Court found the school district had primarily complied with consent decree of 1998.
Alabama	Opelilka City Board of Education	2002	2002 WL237032 (M.D.Ala 2002)	Court found compliance with 1998 consent decree and declared fully unitary.
Alabama	Russell County Board of Education	2002	2002 WL360000 (M.D. Ala 2002)	Court found compliance with 1998 consent decree, and declared fully unitary.
Alabama	Tallapoosa County Board of Education	2002	2002 WL 31757973	Declared partially unitary for all factors (faculty hiring and assignment, student assignment and instruction, extracurricular activities, student discipline, student dropout intervention, facilities, and special education) except faculty assignment at one school. Court found that the school district had primarily complied with consent decree of 1998.

Arkansas	Little Rock School District	2002	2002 WL 31119883	Declared partially unitary. Found unitary status in student discipline, extracurricular activities, advanced placement courses, and guidance counseling. Court will continue monitoring the school district's assessment of programs most effective in improving African American achievement.
California	San Diego Unified School District	1998	61 Cal.App.4th 411	By 1985 the trial court found that the school district had made substantial progress toward eliminating segregation. In 1996, the court issued a final order stating that it would completely end its supervision on January 1, 2000. Plaintiffs opposed moving the date to end its supervision to July, 1998. Court supervision ended in 1998 pursuant to the modified final order.
Colorado	Board of Education School District No. 1, Denver	1995	902 F. Supp. 1274 (D. Colo. 1995)	Declared fully unitary.
Delaware	Christiana School District Brandywine School District Colonial School District	1996	90 F.3d 752 (3rd Cir. 1996)	Declared fully unitary. (interdistrict remedy case) Plaintiffs did not oppose finding regarding transportation and facilities.

	Red Clay School District (Wilmington)			
Florida	Duval County Schools (Jacksonville)	2001	273 F.3d. 960 (11th Cir. 2001)	1986 found partially unitary in transportation and extracurricular activities. Declared fully unitary. Plaintiffs only opposed and provided evidence regarding vestiges of discrimination in school assignment.
Florida	Hillsborough County (Tampa)	2001	244 F. 3d 927 (11th Cir. 2001)	1970 found partially unitary in transportation, extracurricular activities and facilities Declared fully unitary.
Florida	Miami-Dade County	2001	Unreported	Unitary status review initiated by the Court. Declared fully unitary. Plaintiffs agreed that the school district was unitary with respect to *Green* factors.
Florida	St. Lucie County (Fort Pierce)	1997	977 F.Supp. 1202 (S.D. Fla. 1997)	Declared fully unitary. Joint motion with plaintiff seeking unitary status.
Georgia	Coffee County (Douglas)	1995	1995 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 4864	Motion for Unitary Status unopposed by plaintiff.
Georgia	Dekalb County School System (Atlanta)	1996	942 F.Supp. 1449 (N.D. Ga 1996)	1988 declared partially unitary in student assignment, transportation, facilities and extracurricular activities. Delared fully unitary.

Georgia	Muscogee County (Columbus)	1997	111 F.3d 839 (11th Cir. 1997)	Declared fully unitary. Plaintiffs only opposed finding on student assignment.
Georgia	Savannah-Chatham School District	1994	860 F. Supp. 1563 (S.D.Ga 1994)	Declared fully unitary. Plaintiffs did not oppose finding regarding transportation and extracurricular activities.
Illinois	Rockford Board of Education School District No. 205	2001	246 F.3d1073 (7th Cir. 2001)	Declared fully unitary. Plaintiffs opposed the finding because of continued disparities in achievement.
Indiana	Indianapolis Schools	1998	Unreported	Settlement Agreement with a 13 year phase out plan (interdistrict desegregation order)
Kansas	Unified School District No. 500, Kansas City (Wyandotte County)	1997	974 F. Supp. 1367 (D. Kansas 1997)	Declared fully unitary. Unopposed by plaintiffs. Parties developed a Desegregation Exit Plan.
Kansas	Unified School District No. 501 (Shawnee County -- Topeka)	1999	56 F.Supp.2d 1212 (D.Kan. 1999)	Declared fully unitary. Based on implementation of 1994-1995 remedial plan previously agreed upon by the parties. Plaintiffs did not oppose.

Kentucky	Jefferson County Public Schools (Louisville)	2000	102 F.Supp.2d 358 (W.D. Ky. 2000)	Declared fully unitary. Plaintiffs opposed due to segregation at the classroom level.
Maryland	Prince Georges County (Greenbelt)	2002 (expected)	18 F.Supp.2d 569 (D.Md. 1998)	Approval of Memorandum of Understanding with an expectation of a declaration of unitary status at the end of fiscal year 2002
Michigan	School District of the City of Benton Harbor	2002	195F.Supp.2d 971 (W.D. Mich. 2002)	Court declared fully unitary Plaintiff's agreed that school district was unitary with respect to *Green* factors, but thought achievement disparities were still vestiges of segregation
Michigan	School District of the City of Pontiac	1974 partial 2000	95 F.Supp.2d 688 (M.D. Mich. 2000)	Found fully unitary against school district request to continue the order for three more years.
New York	Buffalo School District	1995	904 F.Supp. 112 (W.D. NY 1995)	Declared fully unitary.
North Carolina	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education	2001	269 F.3d 305 (4th Cir. 2001)	Declared fully unitary.
Ohio	Board of Education of City	1991	1991WL11010 72 (S.D. Ohio 1991)	Settlement Agreement in 1984 scheduled to expire in 1991 but court found that the school district did not fully comply in the areas of low achieving schools and

	School District of Cincinnati			unbiased disciplinary policies. The court extended its jurisdiction for at least two years.
Ohio	Dayton Public Schools	2002	2002 WL1284228 (S.D. Ohio 2002)	Declaration of unitary status. Joint motion seeking unitary status.
Oklahoma	Oklahoma City Public Schools	1991	778 F.Supp. 1144 (W.D. Okl, 1991)	Declared fully unitary as of 1985 and dissolved the permanent injunction governing the school district.
Pennsylvania	Woodland Hills School District	2000	118 F.Supp. 2d 577 (W.D. Pa. 2000)	Partial unitary status granted- jurisdiction retained over curriculum because math curriculum had continued tracking contrary to previous court order. Court expects district to be unitary by the end of the 2002-2003 school year.
Texas	Dallas Independent School District	1994	869 F.Supp. 454 (N.D. Tx. 1994)	Declared unitary, but would not be dismissed until 1997; judge questions whether would release because of disparities in student achievement.
Texas	Jefferson Independent School District	2001	Unreported	Declared partially unitary in 2000 in transportation, facilities and transfers through agreement of the parties; Entered into a consent order, July 2002 with the expectation that the district would be declared unitary by July 2001

Appendix B

Definition of Regions

South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Border: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

West: Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

Note: Alaska and Hawaii are excluded from most parts of this study because of their unique ethnic compositions and isolation from the regions studied here.

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